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The Book Collections of Llanthony Priory from Foundation until Dissolution (c. 1100-1538)



Kirsty Bennett

**Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.
in the School of History
at the University of Kent.**

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Volume I.

Frontispiece: OTC 33, f. 53v.

Abstract

This thesis explores the library of the Augustinian priory of Llanthony (which had dual sites in Wales and Gloucester) from its inception c.1100 until its Dissolution in 1538.

The unusually high number of extant manuscripts – approximately 180, plus two printed books, ranging in date from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries – surviving from Llanthony forms a rich resource for the study of the collection. Many of these manuscripts (*circa* 90) are of twelfth-century date. Llanthony's earliest manuscripts are an example of book collecting in medieval Wales, whilst the community became involved in west-country palaeographical, decorative and copying networks within a short time of its foundation. Llanthony's existence across dual sites from 1136, followed by the division and eventual reunification of the community, has interesting implications for its book provision.

Other evidence pertaining to the history of the library complements that of the manuscripts. Chiefly, a book-list of c.1350 is an invaluable tool for the reconstruction of part of the collection in the later fourteenth century, illuminating the arrangement, storage and use of the books. A large donation of books in the 1300s, the volumes acquired by a canon-scholar of Llanthony Secunda whilst at Oxford in the early 1400s, and 'housekeeping' work in the library by another canon in the fifteenth century demonstrate the impact of individual impetus on the collection. In tandem, the manuscripts and the documentary evidence give an unrivalled insight into the book-holding of an English Augustinian community.

Following a summary of the priory's history, a series of analytical chapters examines the origins, development and growth of the book collection. The conclusion sets Llanthony's collection as a whole into a broader context in order to assess the extent to which it was typical. Appendices include a handlist giving summary details of the manuscripts on which this study is based.

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Several archives have been kind enough to give me access to the surviving Llanthony manuscripts. I would like to thank the archivists and librarians of Lambeth Palace Library; the British Library; Westminster Abbey; the Bodleian Library; Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Queen's College, Oxford; Cambridge University Library; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Corpus Christi College Cambridge; the National Archives; the Houghton Library, Harvard University and the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library at the University of Toronto. The University of London and the Institute of Historical Research have also allowed me to use their resources. Several of these repositories have kindly supplied

photographs of manuscripts in their care to be used as plates in this thesis; in all cases copyright rests with the relevant institution.

Particular thanks are due to, at the Houghton, Ms. Elizabeth Falsey; at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Mr. Julian Reid; at Corpus Christi College Cambridge, Ms. Gill Cannell; and at Gloucestershire Record Office, Mr. James Turtle. Lambeth Palace has received far more of my visits than the other archives combined and I am especially grateful to Dr. Richard Palmer, Mrs. Sarah Wickham, Miss Melanie Barber, Miss Christina Mackwell, Mrs. Gabriel Sewell and Mrs. Clare Brown for their assistance over the years, and to the various generations of Lambeth archives and library assistants who have made hundreds of trips to fetch manuscripts and books for me.

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Kirsty Bennett.

Odiham, Hampshire.

Feast of St. Erconwald.

Preface

The following conventions have been observed throughout this work.

Dating

The dates of manuscripts are given according to the conventions below:

<i>s. xii</i>	twelfth century.
<i>s. xiiⁱⁿ</i>	early twelfth century.
<i>s. xii^{2/4}</i>	second quarter of the twelfth century.
<i>s. xii¹</i>	first half of the twelfth century.
<i>s. xii^{med}</i>	middle two quarters of the twelfth century/ <i>c.</i> 1130-60.
<i>s. xii²</i>	second half of the twelfth century.
<i>s. xii^{3/4}</i>	third quarter of the twelfth century.
<i>s. xii^{ex}</i>	late twelfth century.
<i>s. xii/xiii</i>	turn of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries.
<i>s. xii-xiii</i>	indicates a manuscript whose component parts date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Repositories and Manuscripts

The repositories whose manuscripts are used in this thesis are identified by the following short forms, which precede the individual shelfmark:

BL	London, British Library
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BNF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
Bodleian/Bodl.	Oxford, Bodleian Library
BP	Bibliothèque publique
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CTC	Cambridge, Trinity College
CUL	Cambridge, University Library
HCL	Hereford, Cathedral Library
LCL	Lincoln, Cathedral Library

LP	London, Lambeth Palace Library
OCCC	Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library
OQC	Oxford, Queen's College Library
OTC	Oxford, Trinity College Library
TF	Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library
TNA	Kew, The National Archives
UL	University Library
WCL	Worcester, Cathedral Library

H460 London, BL, MS Harley 460 (Llanthony Secunda's fourteenth-century library catalogue).

A16. entries in Harley 460 are cited by this code, which refers to the edition of the catalogue in *Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, where it is list A16, followed by a number which denotes the individual manuscript's position in the catalogue.

Julius D.x BL, Cotton MS Julius D.x (the chronicle of Llanthony's early history and a copy of the *vita* of Robert de Béthune).

Secondary Works

On their first citation, the bibliographical details of secondary works are given in full. Thereafter, such works are referred to by their author's name and a short title. The abbreviated titles of some frequently-cited works are as follows:

Augustinian Canons T. Webber and A. Watson (eds.), *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 6 (London, 1998).

Bill, *Catalogue* E.G.W. Bill, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 1222-1860, with a supplement to*

M.R. James's Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace by N.R. Ker (Oxford, 1972).

- BRUO* A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols., (Oxford, 1957).
- Cat. Roy.* G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and Kings Collections in the British Museum*, 4 vols., (London, 1921).
- CCCM* *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis* [various editors].
- CCSL* *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* [various editors].
- DDBL* A.G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library*, 2 vols., (London, 1979).
- DDC* P.R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1988).
- DDLL* P.R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.888-1600 in London Libraries*, 2 vols., (London, 2003).
- DDO* A.G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1984).
- Hereford* R.A.B. Mynors and R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 1993).

- HRH I* D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, V.C.M. London, (eds.), *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1972).
- HRH II* D.M. Smith and V.C.M. London (eds.), *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales II, 1216-1377* (Cambridge, 2001).
- James, Catalogue* M.R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: the Medieval MSS* (Cambridge, 1932) [MSS listed in numerical order of shelfmark].
- Ker, English MSS* N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960).
- Langston, 'Priors'* J.N. Langston, 'Priors of Llanthony by Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 63, (1942), pp. 1-144.
- Lincoln* R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Cambridge, 1989).
- MENE* R.G. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England c.1066-1130* (Oxford, 1999).
- MLGB* N.R. Ker, (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn., (London, 1964) [all references are to the second edition].
- MRH* D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn., (Harlow, 1971).

<i>Reading</i>	A. Coates, <i>English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal</i> (Oxford, 1999).
<i>Salisbury</i>	T. Webber, <i>Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c.1075-c.1125</i> (Oxford, 1992).
<i>Sharpe, Handlist</i>	R. Sharpe, <i>A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540</i> (Turnhout, 1997).
<i>Suppl.</i>	N.R. Ker and A.G. Watson (eds.), <i>Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: Supplement to the Second Edition</i> (London, 1987).
<i>VCH</i>	W. Page (ed.), <i>The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Gloucestershire</i> , vol. 2, (London, 1907); N.M. Herbert (ed.), <i>The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Gloucestershire</i> , vol. 4 (London, 1988).
<i>Worcester</i>	R.M. Thomson, <i>A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library</i> (Cambridge, 2001).
f.	folio.
fos.	folios.
MS(S)	manuscript(s).
unpr.	unprinted.

Introduction

The library of Llanthony priory is the richest and best-documented English book collection that has not hitherto been studied in detail. M.R. James described many of the Llanthony books in his catalogue of the manuscripts of Lambeth Palace Library, but studied them no further.¹ Although the corpus includes many twelfth-century manuscripts, N.R. Ker barely mentioned Llanthony in his survey of English books in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest.² Whilst English Cathedral libraries have generally been investigated, as have the scattered manuscripts of various other English religious houses, Llanthony has been neglected. Yet such neglect is unwarranted. The number of books surviving from Llanthony, whilst not approaching the total of some great Benedictine houses, compares favourably to better-known foundations such as Lincoln and Hereford cathedral priories; moreover it can boast a relatively high number of manuscripts pre-dating c.1200.³ Many houses founded within a generation or so of Llanthony (e.g. Waverley or Fountains) are represented by a very small number of manuscripts, rendering unfeasible detailed scrutiny of their book culture.⁴ By contrast, there survive approximately 180 volumes of certain or probable Llanthony provenance, of which about ninety date from the twelfth century.⁵ These form the prime resource for our investigations.

¹ M.R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: the Medieval Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1932) [henceforth James, *Catalogue*].

² *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960). Ker characterised the century after the Norman Conquest of England as 'the greatest in the history of English book production' (p. 1).

³ About 100 surviving MSS were certainly or probably at Lincoln before the Reformation. Its twelfth-century catalogue lists 136 books (R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* [Cambridge, 1989], p. xiii). 112 books now at Hereford were definitely part of the cathedral library in medieval times (R.A.B. Mynors and R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* [Cambridge, 1993], p. xv).

⁴ *Vide Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books* [henceforth *MLGB*], ed. N.R. Ker, 2nd edn., (London, 1964); *Supplement to the Second Edition* [henceforth *Suppl.*], ed. A.G. Watson (London, 1987). A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 2003), chapter 9, has done what little is possible with the early Fountains books.

⁵ Ker, *MLGB*, pp. 108-12, 119-20; Watson, *Suppl.*, pp. 41-3, 46. It is difficult to know how many volumes the extant corpus represents, as the later rebinding of the Lambeth MSS has separated what were once components of the same book. See N.R. Ker, 'Archbishop Sancroft's Rearrangement of the Manuscripts of Lambeth Palace' in E.G.W. Bill, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library: MSS 1222-1860, with a supplement to M.R. James's Descriptive Catalogue of the*

In addition to Llanthony's books themselves, there is a plethora of related documentation. Foremost is the catalogue of Llanthony Secunda's manuscripts which was compiled in the mid fourteenth century.⁶ Its 508 entries impart vital information about the books (lost and extant), their acquisition, storage and use. It provides an invaluable checklist for confirming the Llanthony provenance of earlier volumes. A bequest of fifty-seven books in the will of the Gloucestershire man John Lecche is coeval with the catalogue and is recorded in a Llanthony cartulary. The *Registrum Anglie*, a catalogue of standard authors whose works were present in English monastic and cathedral libraries in the latter half of the thirteenth century, records twelve titles from Llanthony.⁷ Nine of these may be identifiable in H460;⁸ six can be matched with extant manuscripts.⁹ John Leland noted five of Llanthony's books c.1536-40.¹⁰

Documentary evidence touching Llanthony's history is also pertinent to its books. The important thirteenth-century manuscript BL, Cotton Julius D.x contains an account of Llanthony's early history, written by one of its own canons, as well as one of three surviving copies of the *vita* of Llanthony's illustrious second prior, Robert de Béthune, who was promoted to the bishopric of Hereford in 1129. Gerald of Wales offered interesting observations about Llanthony, which he visited in 1188. Late medieval cartularies, registers and rentals are invaluable sources for

Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace by N.R. Ker (Oxford, 1972), pp. 1-53, pp. 1, 5-17 for details. The degree of certainty with which these books can be attributed to Llanthony varies. A number of Lambeth Palace MSS not included in this study may also be from Llanthony (*MLGB*, p. 112).

⁶ BL, Harley 460 [henceforth H460]. H460 was most recently published in *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. T. Webber and A.G. Watson, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues [henceforth CBMLC] 6 (London, 1998), list A16. Entries in the catalogue are cited with this prefix plus a number indicating their position therein (e.g. A16.27).

⁷ Six works by Augustine and three by each of Jerome and Isidore. *Registrum Anglie de Libris Doctorum et Auctorum Veterum*, ed. R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, CBMLC 2 (London, 1991), no. 109.

⁸ Rouse and Rouse's identification of R.6.113 with A16.360 seems wrong.

⁹ Details are given in the handlist of Llanthony MSS in appendix 1.

¹⁰ *Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, list A18.

Llanthony's daily operation.¹¹ These pieces of evidence form a chronological sequence of material which, taken in tandem with Llanthony's extant books (most of which are from its earliest centuries), spans the priory's existence.

Llanthony's importance is increased by the paucity of such material from other English Augustinian foundations. Furthermore, the unusual circumstances of Llanthony's foundation, relocation, division and reunification over a 380-year period add an interesting dimension to the study of its book provision. Not only was Llanthony split across two sites (Prima and Secunda), but across two countries and cultures. The books that it acquired during the first generation of its existence, before it had a presence in Gloucester, are a valuable example of book collecting by a religious house in medieval Wales, from which country very few manuscripts - and those generally of a late date - survive. Although it is accordingly hard to judge the interaction of Llanthony with other Welsh communities, a known connection with Carmarthen in the 1400s suggests that there was some.

Despite its undoubted potential, the Llanthony material does pose problems. Many books are lost - or can no longer be identified as coming from Llanthony - and the surviving sample is patently not fully representative of the composition of the original corpus: service and liturgical volumes are extremely rare, yet they must once have been numerous and they would certainly have been amongst the first books obtained by the community.¹² The absence of an early library list renders it impossible to estimate what proportion of the extant twelfth-century books was at the priory at an early date or what proportion of Llanthony's twelfth- and thirteenth-century holdings the extant volumes represent. Rarely is there firm evidence that the twelfth- and thirteenth-century books of medieval Llanthony provenance were at the priory at an early point. The fourteenth-century catalogue indicates which texts Llanthony then owned, but although older volumes can often be identified therein, it does not reveal when or how they reached the community. *Ex libris* and *ex dono*

¹¹ They are listed in appendix 5. Regrettably, there is no custumal which might have revealed how Llanthony's books were managed.

¹² The surviving material naturally also partly reflects the interests of post-Dissolution collectors.

inscriptions provide the best indication of an early Llanthony provenance but the former were not routinely inserted into our manuscripts. It is reasonable to suppose that the manuscripts of Llanthony provenance containing the works of its house scholars originated at and remained at one of the Llanthonies;¹³ physical similarities link certain early books; and stylistic features localise some of them to the west country; but establishing exactly how many volumes were written in-house remains difficult - particularly given that the community became bi-partite. In the seventeenth-century rebinding campaigns at Lambeth Palace, the flyleaves of some manuscripts were removed to facilitate the combination of volumes, resulting in the loss of precisely those pages that typically bear evidence of provenance.

Also regrettable is the low survival rate of books from communities near to Llanthony, with which it might reasonably be presumed to have enjoyed bibliographical exchange. As well as the above-noted paucity of extant manuscripts from Wales in general, the libraries of such west-country foundations as Pershore, Cirencester and, particularly, Gloucester are now poorly represented. We cannot even therefore, ascertain as much as would be desirable about their collections for the purpose of comparison with Llanthony. Although evidence for co-operation and networks of copying and borrowing between various west-country houses has been uncovered, it is highly lacunose and has yet to be fully assessed.

Another drawback is that very little work has hitherto been done on the Llanthony manuscripts. They appear in the catalogues of their various repositories, but these descriptions are sometimes very brief, often very old and never synthesise or analyse.¹⁴ Although individual Llanthony manuscripts are occasionally mentioned in work on other centres,¹⁵ they have never been studied as a group in their own

¹³ Even this assumption has a caveat: the dedication inscriptions in the MSS of the *vita* of Prior Robert de Béthune imply that they may have been 'exported' from the community.

¹⁴ The fullest descriptions of Llanthony MSS are those in James, *Catalogue*, and even this, though published in 1932, was researched at the beginning of the twentieth century.

¹⁵ For example Rodney Thomson mentions the Llanthony manuscript LP 101 in an article devoted to the books of Gloucester abbey ('Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' [henceforth 'Gloucester'], *Books and Collectors 1200-1700: Essays presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. J.P. Carley and C.G.C. Tite [London, 1997], pp. 3-26, at n. 14).

right. Whilst this makes Llanthony a prime candidate for detailed treatment, it also means that there is little published material on which to draw for this study.¹⁶

Although several of the abovementioned documents - the Llanthony library catalogue, Lecce's will, the Béthune *vita* and some archival volumes – have been edited, many others have not. The full exploitation of some documents is therefore hindered. The writers of Llanthony have been equally neglected. The community included several scholars who left a literary legacy.¹⁷ However, their works have not all been studied, or even printed. Potentially interesting facts about Llanthony's intellectual climate (especially in the 1100s, the period from which most 'in-house' work survives) are thus currently inaccessible.

The present study opens (chapter 1) with a summary account of Llanthony's foundation and history, focusing on those aspects which are likely to have had a bearing on the community's books.¹⁸ A series of analytical chapters, arranged chronologically and based on fresh inspection of the surviving manuscripts, then examines the origins, development and growth of the book collection. Chapters 2-4 examine in detail particular groups of early books of Llanthony provenance. Chapter 5 then considers the first century of book acquisition (c.1150-c.1250) of Llanthony Secunda. Chapter 6 explores the affiliations of the texts in some early Llanthony manuscripts. Chapter 7 discusses the collecting activities of the next century, c.1250-c.1350, which brings us to the library catalogue of c.1350 and the bequest of books by John Lecce, which are the subject of chapter 8. The final phase of activity (c.1400-1538), encompassing the university attendance of Canon Richard Calne and the 'housekeeping' work of Canon Morgan of Carmarthen, is investigated in chapter 9. The post-Dissolution fate of Llanthony's books is

¹⁶ In addition, no-one except Alan Coates, in his study of Reading's books, has attempted a similar longitudinal study covering the whole history of an English monastic library (*English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* [henceforth *Reading*] [Oxford, 1999]).

¹⁷ With one exception (John of Llanthony) all were, or became, priors. John was sub-prior; that this is all that is known of him is indicative of the wider absence of information about the religious of Llanthony.

¹⁸ There is sufficient material, especially were the currently unedited archival documents to be plundered, for a comprehensive study of Llanthony's history to be undertaken, but that is not possible here.

considered in the conclusion, which also sets Llanthony's book collection as a whole into a broader perspective in order to assess the extent to which it was typical. Additional data of particular importance, including a handlist giving summary details of the manuscripts on which this study is based, are presented in the appendices.

Chapter 1

Llanthony Priory: A Summary History

The physical remains at the site of Llanthony Prima (Monmouthshire) are impressive. Gerald of Wales, visiting in 1188 during his tour of Wales, describes it thus:

‘In the deep vale of Ewias, which is shut in on all sides by a circle of lofty mountains and which is no more than three arrow-shots in width, there stands the abbey-church of Saint John the Baptist.... It is a site most suited to the practice of religion and better chosen for canonical discipline than that of any of the other monasteries in the whole Island of Britain...’¹

The prevailing religious climate at the time of Llanthony Prima’s foundation (many of the details of which, including its precise date, are unclear) demonstrates why contemporaries would have considered this site ideal for a religious community. A revitalisation of monastic observance in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries was manifested in the foundation of new religious orders and houses and a renewed effort towards simplicity of observance in religious life across much of northern Europe.² Participating in this trend, William (de Laci), a knight, became a hermit *tempus* William Rufus at the site that was to become Llanthony Prima.³ He was joined in 1103 by

¹ *The Journey through Wales*, ed. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1978), pp. 96-7 (*vide* also pp. 10, 42, 59, 71, 96-108). Plates I-V. For descriptions of the site of Llanthony Prima see G. Roberts, *Some Account of Llanthony Priory, Monmouthshire* (London & Monmouth, 1847), pp. 37-45 and O.E. Craster, *Llanthony Priory* (London, 1963), pp. 13-24.

² D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216*, 2nd edn., (Cambridge, 1966), Chs. X-XVI; J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), Ch. 4. In England, the general trend was given further impetus by the upheavals associated with the Norman Conquest. There was a 700-900% increase in the number of religious houses in England during the 1100s: D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* [henceforth *MRH*] (Harlow, 1971).

³ Craster, *Llanthony Priory*, p. 5 and M.R. James, *Abbeys* (London, 1925), p. 133 identify William as a kinsman and retainer of Hugh de Laci, Lord of Ewias (the district in which Llanthony is situated); see also Julius D.x: Roberts, *Some Account...*, pp. 48-50. Any contemporary documentation recording Llanthony’s foundation is lost. The source for much of the following is the chronicle of Llanthony’s early history in the thirteenth-century MS Cotton, Julius D.x (through the medium of the English translation provided by Roberts, *Some Account...*,

Ernisius, a priest and former chaplain to Henry I's queen, Matilda.⁴ More disciples arrived and a church was built. In 1108, when the church was consecrated by the bishops of Llandaff and Hereford and dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the settlement formally became a priory of canons and on the advice of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (d.1109), the Augustinian rule was chosen for it.⁵ Ernisius became the first prior and Augustinian canons regular came from Merton, Holy Trinity Aldgate (London) and Colchester to teach the new community the observances.⁶ It is likely that these canons brought books with them, either as outright gifts or for Llanthony to copy. Hugh de Laci granted endowments which gave the community economic viability.⁷ Julius D.x records 'forty or more brethren in the college' shortly after Ernisius's election as prior (after 1108).⁸

who erroneously calls it Julius D.ii). Julius D.x was printed by William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8, (London, 1817-30), vol VI and Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, 2 vols., (London, 1690), II, pp. 295-321.

⁴ *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, V.C.M. London (Cambridge, 1972) [henceforth *HRH I*], p. 172. Ernisius had once been a recluse (Julius D.x: Roberts, *Some Account...*, pp. 8, 50-1).

⁵ The first Augustinian house in England was founded at Colchester shortly before 1107. The support of the Norman royal family and nobility was significant in the early success of both the order and Llanthony. By 1215, 130-plus Augustinian houses had been founded in England, but only two more in Wales: Carmarthen and Haverfordwest (Craster, *Llanthony Priory*, p. 6). Jane Herbert observes that the transformation of eremitic communities into Augustinian priories was a notable feature of the order's early growth and that during the 1100s approximately 50 Augustinian houses began this way. The Rule of St. Augustine was often adopted in cases where a community of religious had gathered around a hermit, as its generality made it more easily embraceable by a pre-existing group ('The Transformation of Hermitages into Augustinian Priories in Twelfth-Century England', *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W.J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History*, 22, (1985), pp. 131-45, p. 131). Early documentation describing the evolution of English hermitages into Augustinian priories is scanty: there are only two such sources for the 11 English priories which developed from hermitages in the 1100s. Herbert omits the Llanthony foundation chronicle in Julius D.x from her reckoning and seems unaware that some cartularies survive from Llanthony (*ibid.*, pp. 131-2).

⁶ Julius D.x records the invitation to the canons of these prestigious houses 'who should be brethren at Lanthony' for the purpose of instruction (Roberts, *Some Account...*, p. 53). J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), pp. 111-2, observes that Merton was not founded until late 1114. *MRH*, p. 164, suggests that canons came from Colchester c.1108-9, from Aldgate c.1110, and from Merton c.1117 to strengthen Llanthony's community.

⁷ The sanctity of the early foundation is said to have attracted much patronage, most of which was refused by the religious, who chose to avoid involvement in litigation and administration (Julius D.x: Roberts, *Some Account...*, pp. 12, 54).

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-4.

Llanthony's second prior, the scholarly Robert de Béthune, took up the position sometime before 1129, the year in which he was elected to the see of Hereford.⁹ Robert was a Fleming and, happily, the details of his life were recorded by William of Wycombe, his chaplain and later prior of Llanthony himself.¹⁰ Robert was reluctant to leave Llanthony and did not assume the episcopate until 1131.¹¹ Llanthony's fortunes were dramatically and detrimentally affected by the death of Henry I on 1st December 1135, which triggered a Welsh rising aimed at expelling the Norman conquerors from south Wales. During the course of these troubles, Llanthony was raided and the canons' food supply impeded. The general unrest associated with Stephen and Matilda's struggle for the throne can have only exacerbated the situation. This turmoil is the first of several occasions on which Llanthony's books are likely to have been destroyed.

The canons appealed to their former prior Robert of Hereford for assistance and most of them took refuge at the bishop's residence in Hereford in 1136.¹² In that year and at Robert's instigation, Llanthony was given a new site on the south-west outskirts of Gloucester: this was to become Llanthony Secunda, or Llanthony-by-Gloucester.¹³ The donor of this site was Miles of Gloucester (created earl of Hereford in 1141). Using money brought from Wales and with the continued support of their former prior, the canons built a new church, which was dedicated to the Virgin by Robert of Hereford and Simon of Worcester on 10

⁹ *MRH*, p. 164. Llanthony's priors are listed in Julius D.x, f. 32^{r-v}; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, II, pp. 321-2; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI; J.N. Langston, 'Priors of Llanthony by Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 63, (1942), pp. 1-144; W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Gloucestershire*, vol. II, (London, 1907) [henceforth *VCH Gloucs.* ii], pp. 90-91 (p. 91 note 3 observes that both Wharton and Dugdale misprint the list of priors from Julius D.x); *HRH I*, pp. 172-3; *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales II, 1216-1377*, ed. D.M. Smith and V.C.M. London (Cambridge, 2001) [henceforth *HRH II*], pp. 413-5.

¹⁰ Printed in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, II, pp. 295-321; translated by B.J. Parkinson, *The Life of Robert of Béthune by William of Wycombe* (Oxford, 1951) (MS B.Litt. d.85) [henceforth *Life*, ed. Parkinson].

¹¹ He was consecrated on 28th June 1131 (*HRH I*, p. 172). Robert's official *acta* have been edited by J.S. Barrow, *English Episcopal Acta 7: Hereford 1079-1234* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 14-53.

¹² *HRH I* dates their flight c.1134 (p. 172); however this pre-dates Henry's death.

¹³ *Life*, ed. Parkinson, pp. 184-6. Due to its urban position, Llanthony Secunda's site has been largely obliterated by modern development (cf. plate VI). However, in the 1790s, when the Gloucester and Berkeley canal was dug through the eastern side of the precinct, foundations of a building c. 30 feet wide, apparently part of the church, were revealed: N.M Herbert (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Gloucestershire*, vol. IV, [henceforth *VCH Gloucs.* iv] (London, 1988), p. 289.

September 1136.¹⁴ Miles's benevolence was doubtless influenced by family considerations, since his father had been a member of Llanthony Prima since 1126 at the latest.¹⁵

Llanthony Secunda's location on the edge of a town made the new community far-removed both geographically and in spirit from Llanthony Prima: no longer were the canons closeted in poverty away from the rest of the world. Yet Robert de Béthune envisaged the re-location of the majority of his former community to Gloucester to be temporary: he intended only thirteen canons to remain at Llanthony Secunda in the long term, with the remainder returning to the original site as soon as conditions permitted.¹⁶ Robert's regard for the mother-house was seemingly not shared by the canons, who preferred the comforts of Gloucester to the isolation of Wales, and Llanthony Prima seems gradually to have decayed:

'...God by his just will...did permit the library to be despoiled of its books, the storehouse of its silk vestments and relicks embroidered with gold and silver, and of their deeds and charters of their privileges, and the treasury of all the valuable goods. Whatever was ornamental, or of any worth in the church of St. John, was carried away to Gloucester....'¹⁷

This valuably reveals that books had been acquired before the move to Gloucester, highlights the existence of writing in the form of administrative documents, and places these written possessions alongside other types of goods as considered worthy of removal to Gloucester.¹⁸

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 288-9, speculates that the original buildings were temporary. Be this as it may, archaeological evidence uncovered in 1846 indicates that there was a substantial church at the site by the late twelfth century. At the dedication, Miles added to his initial gift churches and lands for the canons' support (*VCH Gloucs.* ii, p. 88).

¹⁵*VCH Gloucs.* iv, p. 18. Miles was also connected to Llanthony through his son (Craster, *Llanthony Priory*, p. 6).

¹⁶*MRH*, p. 164. To this end, Robert obtained bulls from Popes Lucius and Eugenius (17 December 1146) confirming that Llanthony-by-Gloucester was to remain a cell of the original Llanthony: Langston, 'Priors', p. 13.

¹⁷ Julius D.x: Roberts, *Some Account...*, p. 61.

¹⁸ An image is also drawn of the only canons returning (or, rather, sent) to Llanthony Prima being the old, infirm and humble, who were left there in want of food and clothing (James, *Abbeys*, p. 134).

The mid twelfth century saw unrest within the community.¹⁹ In 1137, the third prior, Robert de Braci, died and was succeeded by William of Wycombe.

William's austerity and attempts to maintain discipline made him very unpopular with the canons, who used his role in a quarrel between Bishop Robert and Miles of Gloucester to force his resignation.²⁰ William's successor, Clement, favoured Llanthony Prima as conducive to study and prayer.²¹ He compelled all but thirteen of the brethren to live with him at the mother-house for part of the year; nevertheless they would not stay. Gerald of Wales endorses Clement's view of the original site and implies that it continued to function as a haven:

'...the air [is] soothing... When, sadly afflicted and worn out by long labour in their daughter house, the monks are brought back, as it were, to their mother's breasts, they are soon restored to the health for which they yearn....'²²

Gerald is harshly critical of the canons of Llanthony Secunda:

'Once [Prima] was free, but it has since been reduced to servitude, through the boundless extravagance of the English, its own reputation for rich living, uncontrolled ambition, the ever-growing vice of ingratitude, the negligence of its prelates and its patrons and, far worse than all of these, the fact that the daughter-house... has odiously and enviously supplanted its own mother.'²³

Gerald blames Llanthony's priors for failing to control the community. Roger of Norwich (1174?-c.1189) is characterised as causing the most damage, although he did bring to Llanthony Geoffrey of Hennelawe, who had already acquired fame as a physician. Hennelawe was Llanthony's prior 1178/c.1189-1203,

¹⁹ It was, nonetheless, during this period that a focused programme of book copying occurred (see chapter 4).

²⁰ *VCH Gloucs.* ii, 88; Langston, 'Priors', p. 9. Wycombe wrote against Miles, styling him a tyrant. The work ('*The Whole Tyranny and Malicious Proceedings of the Earl and His Excommunication from the Flock of Christ*') is lost. He resigned c.1150.

²¹ Even though he was native to Gloucester (*ibid.*). Clement was a noted scholar, several of whose works survive: 'He was extreme learned in the study of divinity: his great proficiency therein, his piercing wit, his solid judgement and sound faith, do sufficiently appear in the great volumes which he has writ on that subject, in a plain yet eloquent style' (Julius D.x: Roberts, *Some Account...*, pp. 27, 62).

²² *Journey through Wales*, ed. Thorpe, p. 97.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

before becoming bishop of St. David's.²⁴ Little *medica* survives in the extant Llanthony corpus, although Llanthony Secunda's fourteenth-century library catalogue reveals good holdings of such material; whether this was a result of Geoffrey's interests is uncertain.

Llanthony continued to attract patronage in the later 1100s.²⁵ From 1199 comes the first mention of the school (in Gloucester town, rather than within the priory) with which Llanthony was involved.²⁶ Llanthony's right of advowson to it was repeatedly contested (and defended) over the next three hundred years.

Documentation of 1287 describes the school as one 'to which scholars flock, for the sake of learning, some from our diocese and others from divers parts...', a valuable indication of the effect that such an establishment might have on a town.²⁷ Meanwhile, the revived fortunes of the de Lacis, the original founders of Llanthony Prima, resulted in their giving fresh endowments to the Welsh house, where rebuilding began c.1175. Much of the fabric visible there today is of this period.²⁸ As will be seen in chapter 5, Llanthony acquired many books between c.1150 and c.1200.

Llanthony acquired further revenue from its Irish properties. Hugh de Laci was rewarded for his part in Henry II's invasion of Ireland with the lordship of Meath. Before his death (1186) he gave Llanthony the church of Drogheda and the Augustinian priory of St. Kenan at Duleek.²⁹ Llanthony's Irish land-holding continued to grow during the reign of John. The crops and profits arising therefrom were received at Duleek, the prior regularly sending canons to Ireland as his proctors, and were returned to England for the maintenance of the community. Llanthony Prima had a similar grange at Colp (East Meath),

²⁴ *HRH I*, p. 172. Roberts, *Some Account...*, p. 28.

²⁵ *MRH*, p. 360; *VCH Gloucs.* ii, p. 88. A. Mahling Geddes, *The Priory of Lanthony by Gloucester: an Augustinian house in an English town, 1136-1401* (Ph.D thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1997) gives a detailed account of Llanthony's rôle within Gloucester.

²⁶ *VCH Gloucs.* ii, p. 315. The original grant of the school was by Henry II.

²⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 315-7 suggests that these challenges to Llanthony's right to the school emanated from Gloucester Abbey.

²⁸ The presbytery, central tower and north and south transepts were probably all built between 1175 and 1190. The nave plus its aisles and the west front were all built between 1200 and 1220. During the same period, the ranges on the cloister's west and south sides must have been built, followed by the east range. Extensions continued in the thirteenth century: Craster, *Llanthony Priory*, pp. 8, 13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7; Langston, 'Priors', p. 39.

founded c.1182.³⁰ Llanthony's Irish possessions were a valuable source of income: in one year during the rule of Prior Walter of Markley (1283-1300), the proceeds were £81 5s. 7d.³¹ Several extant manuscripts reflect Llanthony's Irish connections.³²

By c.1200, therefore, Llanthony Secunda was apparently entrenched in Gloucester and Llanthony Prima, after forty-odd years of neglect, was revived. The thirteenth century began with a significant upheaval for the foundation, when the two Llanthonies were legally separated. In the early 1200s (c.1204?), Hubert Walter required the bishops of Worcester and Hereford to consider a repartition of the possessions of the two priories. In 1205, a commission of bishops and abbots organised by Innocent III declared that the two houses were to be separate, that each should have its own prior and convent and that neither should be subject to the other. The reasons behind the division are unclear.³³ Llanthony's possessions were to be divided.³⁴ The arrangements made for Llanthony's books at this point are unknown. The nature of the relationship between the two Llanthonies thereafter is difficult to gauge, though some contact continued, at least for the purposes of business.³⁵ Henceforth, references to Llanthony Prima become scarcer and it is hard to discern its fortunes.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ OCCC 154 (f. 387) (*ibid.*, p. 67; *VCH Gloucs.* ii, pp. 88-9). In comparison, in 1291 the English temporalities were assessed at less than £80 (*ibid.*).

³² E.g. LP 60; HCL P.iv.14.

³³ The author of Julius D.x may indicate the background to the division: his disdain for the canons of Llanthony Secunda, in particular their behaviour towards the mother-house, is apparent (Roberts, *Some Account...*, pp. 58-61). Record also survives of an unexplained dispute between Earl Henry de Bohun and Prior Martin (c.1203-c.1205, the last prior of both Llanthony communities) in 1204: S. Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1955), p. 165, citing H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles (eds.), *Select Cases of Procedure Without Writ Under Henry III*, Selden Society, 60, (London, 1941), pp. clxxx-clxxxi, who note Martin's short priorate and suggest that the earl's displeasure precipitated his resignation. Langston suggests that Llanthony Prima, supported again by the de Lacis, refused to submit longer to the domination of Secunda, which in turn would not recognise Prima as the mother-house and itself as only a cell thereto ('Priors', p. 34).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-6; *HRH I*, p. 172. Not until 1211 did the priories reach an amicable agreement regarding the division of their churches and Irish possessions: Langston, 'Priors', p. 36; *VCH Gloucs.* ii, p. 88. By the time of the division, the priory estate already approached its final extent of 115 churches and chapels and 41 principal manors in England, Wales and Ireland (*A Calendar of the Registers of the Priory of Llanthony by Gloucester 1457-1466, 1501-1525*, ed. J. Rhodes [Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, 2002], p. xiv).

³⁵ *The Irish Cartularies of Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, ed. E. St. John Brooks (Dublin, 1953), pp. 141-2, 260-1; *HRH II*, p. 414.

The thirteenth century was a time of consolidation for Llanthony Secunda. Benefactions from burgesses attest to its ongoing entrenchment into Gloucester.³⁶ These made it a major property owner within the town walls.³⁷ The priory also acquired markets, fairs and court-houses.³⁸ In 1291, Llanthony Secunda's income from its English possessions was composed of revenue from land, rents, profits of stock, perquisites of courts, fisheries, mills, dovecotes, oxen, sheep and portions in various churches.³⁹ Nonetheless, the Gloucester house seemingly suffered financial embarrassment until late in the fourteenth century.⁴⁰

However, such assets distanced Llanthony Secunda from the ethos of isolation espoused by the founders of the mother-house and involved its priors in legislation to protect its property.⁴¹ A dispute c.1235 between Llanthony and Warine of Monchensi, lord of the manor of Painswick, regarding the advowson of the church there, resulted in Warine surrendering his claims in return for the prior's concession that the lord could nominate for admission as canons of Llanthony three clerks who could read and chant, in order to celebrate divine service for the souls of Warine and his ancestors.⁴² There were disputes with Gloucester Abbey concerning burial rights within the town (1270s) and rights of pasturage and right of way through lands at Brockworth (1287).⁴³ Llanthony's priors were joint president of the Augustinian chapter of the English southern province in 1279 and 1297.⁴⁴

Laxity of discipline was an ongoing occurrence at Llanthony Secunda during the 1200s. In 1242, a canon murdered his companion in the dormitory.⁴⁵ Soon after the election of Prior Walter of Martley in 1283, Canon John of Worcester assaulted the prior 'and put the prior's finger into his open mouth and...bit it

³⁶ Langston, 'Priors', pp. 41-2, 49; TNA, C115/75 no. 6681 fos. 35-169.

³⁷ Rents from Llanthony Secunda's property at Gloucester brought in £10 in 1291 and had increased to £72 14s. 8^{1/2}d. by the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535 (*VCH Gloucs.* iv, p. 61).

³⁸ Langston, 'Priors', pp. 51, 42, 64.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-6.

⁴⁰ *VCH Gloucs.* ii, p. 89.

⁴¹ *Vide* Langston, 'Priors', p. 42.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 54, 63.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 65.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

with his teeth, drawing blood...'.⁴⁶ Bishop Giffard of Worcester's 1276 visitation revealed manifold complaints. *Inter alia*, the Divine Office was performed irregularly, the prior and some canons were often absent, there was disobedience to the prior and sub-prior and the obedientaries were deemed incompetent or negligent. Maladministration had caused debt and the sacred vessels and other ornaments had been pledged to creditors.⁴⁷ Whilst Llanthony Secunda's library continued to grow during the thirteenth century, these circumstances make it unsurprising that the acquisition of books after c.1250 seems to have been rather piecemeal.

In 1242, the Archbishop of Armagh praised Llanthony Prima's reputation:

'situated in the midst of two warring nations...you extend the hands of charity to both, being...merciful to the poor and compassionate towards the weak'.⁴⁸

The Welsh house also continued to acquire property: by the mid thirteenth century, it had obtained the rectorial tithes of fourteen churches in Ireland, whilst in the lordship of Ewias it had cattle, oxen, a stud for horse breeding, and was producing wool for market.⁴⁹ The hills surrounding the priory contained:

'rich meadows for feeding of cattle, which did compensate for the barrenness of other parts, and made amends for the want of corn'.⁵⁰

Llanthony Prima also acquired fairly large grants of land in the final two decades of the thirteenth century.⁵¹ Yet in 1276, as a consequence of debt, a royal clerk had been appointed to its custody.⁵² The Close Rolls of 1280-1341 also record a number of debts.⁵³ The lengthy injunctions resulting from Archbishop Pecham's

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-9.

⁴⁸ F.G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066-1349* (Cardiff, 1977), p. 208; Brooks, *Irish Cartularies*, p. 25.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67; Roberts, *Some Account...*, pp. 76-7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48. The cattle are a potential source of parchment for book production.

⁵¹ Despite the 1279 Statute of Mortmain (Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p. 263).

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 220-1.

⁵³ Part of a wider trend: between the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the Black Death, most monasteries in south Wales experienced a series of crises (*ibid.*, pp. 229, 231-2).

visitation in 1284 diagnose mismanagement of the priory's resources.⁵⁴ The community also began to experience hostility from local magnates.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, by c.1291, Llanthony Prima was the richest Augustinian foundation in south Wales and the third wealthiest south Welsh monastery of any order.⁵⁶

The fourteenth century began disastrously for Llanthony Secunda when the priory church, with its four bell towers and nine bells, was destroyed in a fire on 1st April 1301, necessitating costly rebuilding.⁵⁷ This incident may have destroyed any service books kept therein. There followed a period of varying prosperity. Poverty caused by accidents, including the fire, the invasions of its Irish possessions and the burden of offering hospitality, was given by Llanthony Secunda as a reason for appropriating property and avoiding onerous duties in the early 1300s.⁵⁸ Yet between 1310 and 1315, the priory received several grants of land and in 1318 a substantial income from the sale of its wool.⁵⁹ Their co-operation during a dispute of 1315 is valuable evidence of contact between Llanthony Secunda and Gloucester, Cirencester and Worcester, local houses which were potential providers of manuscript exemplars to it.⁶⁰

Unrest followed the resignation of William de Pendebury as prior of Llanthony-by-Gloucester in 1324. The canons were without a prior for two years, after which Pendebury was reinstated.⁶¹ Particularly interesting is that those involved in this dispute are connected to books at Llanthony.⁶² Pendebury ruled for a further thirty-six years and found the house to be impoverished and seriously in debt.⁶³ Debt caused Edward III to take the priory under his special protection in

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 224, 227.

⁵⁶ Only Margam and Neath were worth more (*ibid.*, Appendix III).

⁵⁷ Langston, 'Priors', p. 69; *VCH Gloucs.* iv, p. 289; OCCC 192. Walter de Froucestre's chronicle records that 'on the first day of April... the church of Llanthony, near Gloucester, was entirely burnt to the bare walls...' (quoted by Roberts, *Some Account...*, pp. 41-2).

⁵⁸ Langston, 'Priors', pp. 70-3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-3, n. 24-5, 28-9.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

⁶¹ The election of Robert of Gloucester and Walter of Longeney was disputed. The former was never installed and retired to St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin. Pendebury was reinstated on 24th September 1326 (*HRH II*, p. 415).

⁶² William de Pendebury donated books to Llanthony and, during the later part of his priorate, Secunda's library catalogue was compiled. Robert of Gloucester was given permission to take his books with him on retiring to Dublin. LP 339 is *de procuracione* Walter de Langeneye.

⁶³ *VCH Gloucs.* ii, p. 89.

1342, but further disaster was to follow shortly afterwards: of thirty canons, nineteen died as a result of the Black Death in 1349.⁶⁴ The register of Prior John Hayward of Llanthony Secunda (1457-66) records that the Gloucester bailiffs subsequently made many improper claims against Llanthony, as those who had died were the abler and wiser canons, while the survivors lacked knowledge of Llanthony's muniments and liberties.⁶⁵ The paucity of manuscripts of Llanthony provenance dating from the first half of the fourteenth century may be a reflection of these unsettled times.

The upheaval and infringement of Llanthony Secunda's rights resulting from the Black Death may have prompted the production from the mid fourteenth century of a series of documents which records the house's assets and which exhibits archival ability and flair. These include five prior's registers, beginning with that of Simon Brockworth (1362-76), and several volumes of cartularies.⁶⁶ The survival of such a sequence of material is rare: in England, apart from those surviving from cathedral priories and greater Benedictine abbeys, only fourteen registers (including these ones) are known.⁶⁷ Naturally, these documents provide a wealth of information about Secunda's business and daily administration. Unusually, they also contain narrative memoranda, incoming letters and reference material both current and historic.⁶⁸ The invaluable catalogue of Llanthony Secunda's library holding was drawn up around the same time.⁶⁹

Re-ordering and recovery from the plague continued during the tenure of the reforming prior William of Chiriton (1377-1402), who is credited with rescuing Llanthony Secunda from financial embarrassment and indiscipline, and during whose priorate building work at the priory, its manors and churches was carried

⁶⁴ *VCH Gloucs.* iv, p. 35; ii, p. 19.

⁶⁵ TNA, C115/79 no. 6685, f.12^v (Rhodes, *Calendar*, no. 21). No. 21 seemingly dates from a little over a century after the events it describes.

⁶⁶ Appendix 5 lists their shelfmarks.

⁶⁷ Rhodes, *Calendar*, p. xiii. Other registers once existed, including that of William de Pendebury: R. Ian Jack, 'An archival case history: the cartularies and registers of Llanthony Priory in Gloucestershire', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, vol. 4, no. 5 (1972), pp. 370-383, p. 373.

⁶⁸ Rhodes, *Calendar*, p. xiii.

⁶⁹ BL, Harley 460 (see chapter 8).

out.⁷⁰ In 1390, Llanthony Secunda was involved in the translation of the remains of St. Kyneburg of Gloucester. BL, Lansdowne 387, a *lectionarium* containing her life and miracles, may have been produced to commemorate this event and gives a rare insight into Llanthony Secunda's spiritual life.⁷¹ Jurisdictional disputes with the town authorities saw the Gloucester burgesses make several invasions of the priory precinct in the late fourteenth century.⁷² Similar disputes concerning land and properties in the 1400s may have prompted the compilation of the 1455 rental of Llanthony Secunda's landgavel in Gloucester by its renter, Canon Robert Cole.⁷³

There is little evidence to tell the fortunes of Llanthony Prima in the fourteenth century. In 1348, its temporalities were again in royal custody.⁷⁴ The effect of the Black Death upon it is unknown.⁷⁵ Connections with Ireland were maintained.⁷⁶ There were internal upheavals: in 1330, Canon John of Hereford was convicted of theft in a civil court and imprisoned and, after having ruled for eleven years, Prior Nicholas Trille was attacked whilst saying the Office for the Dead and his eyes torn out by three canons. The canons also killed the prior's brother, a layman.⁷⁷ The prior's mandate to resign stated that he no longer dared to dwell 'within 40 miles of the priory'.⁷⁸ In 1399, one of those involved, John de Wellyncton, obtained a papal pardon for his violence towards 'the late prior Nicholas who...had wasted the goods of the priory'.⁷⁹

⁷⁰ This was achieved in spite of significant debts on his installation (*VCH Gloucs.* ii, pp. 21, 90).

⁷¹ Interest in St. Kyneburg is manifested in several of Llanthony's library books that we shall meet in the following chapters.

⁷² *VCH Gloucs.* iv, pp. 61-2 (TNA, C115/79 no. 6685, fos. 9-13; C115/78 no. 6684, f. 159^{r-v}; C115/75 no. 6681, fos. 38, 51^v, 56).

⁷³ *VCH Gloucs.* iv, p. 62 (TNA, C115/79 no. 6685, fos. 9-16^v).

⁷⁴ Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp. 220-1, 232.

⁷⁵ By the mid thirteenth century, Llanthony Prima seemingly supported double the conventual number of canons (i.e. 24). That there were 13 in 1377 (*ibid.*, p. 45, n. 23) may suggest that some were lost to plague.

⁷⁶ *HRH II*, p. 413 (1363 AD).

⁷⁷ Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p. 134.

⁷⁸ *HRH II*, pp. 413-4. Trille was deposed *propter suum proprium delictum* [4th Aug 1373] *prout in libro scripto de eius vita detestabili et actu proposito ad exemplum aliorum tanquam memorie commendandum plene continentur*. This *liber* is probably a cautionary sermon/visitation record/indictment rather than a *vita*.

⁷⁹ Wellyncton later became prior of Llanthony Prima (*ibid.*). He may have been an adherent of Owain Glyndŵr (Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p. 134).

In the early 1400s, the fortunes of the Llanthonies diverged. From the time of Prior Chiriton, Secunda prospered.⁸⁰ Some of the canons lost to the Black Death were replaced.⁸¹ One canon, Richard Calne, was able to attend university between 1412/3 and 1421, where he acquired nine books which subsequently reached Llanthony Secunda. Stability is also suggested by the action of Henry V who, in 1421, committed Carmarthen priory to the custody of Llanthony Secunda for two years. This is reflected in thirty-six Llanthony books of varying dates which bear the signature and annotations of Morgan, canon of Carmarthen. Llanthony Prima, by contrast, was held and plundered by followers of Owain Glyndŵr in 1402-6⁸² - another juncture at which books there are likely to have been destroyed. The revolt had long-lasting consequences: in 1448, the king exempted the prior of Llanthony Prima and his successors from appointment as tax-collectors because their lands had been so severely wasted by Owain's men.⁸³

A significant change in the relationship of the Llanthonies to each other came in 1481 when, on 10th May, Edward IV granted Llanthony Prima and its possessions to Llanthony Secunda.⁸⁴ The licence states that this was because Prima's possessions were devastated, her revenues wasted and there were only four canons.⁸⁵ The efforts of Secunda's prior, Henry Deane, to achieve the reunification included payment of three hundred marks to Edward IV.⁸⁶ Thus in an ironic reversal of history, Llanthony Prima became a cell of its daughter-house and was to be served by a prior and four canons from that house. Its prosperity does not seem to have improved thereafter.

Following a dispute between former prior John Hayward and Prior John Shoyer (1466-7) which resulted in the canons fleeing for eight months and the priory

⁸⁰ Cf. Rhodes, *Calendar*, pp. xiv-xv.

⁸¹ In 1409 there were 17 canons plus 2 in minor orders; in 1436 26 canons and two in minor orders; in 1457 22 canons were present at the election of John Heyward as prior (*VCH Gloucs.* ii, p. 90).

⁸² Rhodes, *Calendar*, pp. xiv-xv.

⁸³ Craster, *Llanthony Priory*, p. 11. The revolt exacerbated damage sustained during Edward I's conquest of Wales a century or so earlier.

⁸⁴ *VCH Gloucs.* ii, p. 90.

⁸⁵ Craster, *Llanthony Priory*, p. 11. The licence is printed by Roberts, *Some Account...*, pp. 77-9. A combination of secular ravages and internal negligence is blamed for Llanthony Prima's ruination.

⁸⁶ Rhodes, *Calendar*, no. 107.

being plundered,⁸⁷ Llanthony Secunda's final seventy years were apparently prosperous. Its antepenultimate and penultimate priors were prominent men. Henry Deane (1467-1501) continued as Secunda's prior until his promotion to the see of Canterbury.⁸⁸ Prior Edmund Forest (1501-25) was president of the Augustinian general chapter of 1518 and one of a group of leading religious to meet Thomas Wolsey in 1519 to receive the latter's (never-implemented) proposed new rules of monastic life.⁸⁹ Between them, Deane and Forest rebuilt the priory church⁹⁰ - indeed, the few surviving ruins at Llanthony Secunda date from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁹¹ There were seemingly few acquisitions to Llanthony's library during the 1400s and 1500s, although the redaction of archival documents continued.

In 1534, the royal supremacy was acknowledged by the prior and twenty-two canons of Llanthony Secunda and the prior and four canons of Llanthony Prima.⁹² Before its dissolution, Llanthony Secunda was arguably the richest Augustinian house in England. Its English and Welsh possessions were valued in 1535 at £737 p.a. Its Irish property yielded a sum equivalent to £343 annually for 18 months in 1536-7, more than the aggregate revenue of all other Irish property that had then been confiscated from English monasteries.⁹³ Several officials connected to Llanthony Secunda in the 1530s had reformist tendencies.⁹⁴ By 1535, Arthur Porter had charge of the administration of the priory's property and on 4th March 1537, Prior Hart of Llanthony sent him to Thomas Cromwell to request that Llanthony Prima be dissolved and its proceeds used to compensate Llanthony Secunda for the loss of its Irish revenues.⁹⁵ Porter brought back a proposal for the dissolution of both priories, which was refined

⁸⁷ C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), p. 357

⁸⁸ *VCH Gloucs.* ii, p. 90.

⁸⁹ Rhodes, *Calendar*, p. xxiii-v. Item no. 386 in Rhodes's edition of Forest's register is the only witness to part of these negotiations (TNA, C115/85 no. 6691, f. 99).

⁹⁰ Rhodes, *Calendar*, pp. xix-xx, no. 426.

⁹¹ *VCH Gloucs.* iv, p. 289.

⁹² *MRH*, p. 165.

⁹³ The combined annual total of £1,080 puts it ahead of its nearest Augustinian rival, Cirencester (£1,051), and ahead of all other Gloucestershire monasteries apart from the Benedictine Tewkesbury (£1,598) and Gloucester (£1,430) (Rhodes, *Calendar*, p. xiv).

⁹⁴ Reformist views were aired in Gloucester in 1536-1537; in the latter year their proponent was defended by, *inter alia*, John Arnold, the steward of Gloucester Abbey, his son Nicholas and son-in-law Arthur Porter, under-steward of Llanthony Secunda. Richard Hart, Llanthony Secunda's prior, belonged to the same family. *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* Prima was not, therefore, dissolved with the lesser monasteries in 1536.

into an agreement to which both Hart and Cromwell subscribed. Thus a deed of surrender had been signed by the priory chapter a week before the commissioners requested it on 17th March 1538.⁹⁶ The submission was signed by the prior and twenty-four canons, including the prior of Llanthony Prima.⁹⁷

The agreement between Hart and Cromwell was threefold: on 18th May 1538, Hart received a pension of £100 p.a.; in 1540 the aforementioned Arthur Porter purchased Llanthony-by-Gloucester and in May 1546, Llanthony Prima was sold to Nicholas Arnold.⁹⁸ After the Dissolution, Prior David of Llanthony Prima and his four canons received pensions of £8.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xxxii.

⁹⁷ Amongst Augustinian houses, only Nostell, Thornton, Leicester, Bridlington and Guisborough had more canons (*ibid.*, p. xiv).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxxii.

⁹⁹ Craster, *Llanthony Priory*, p. 12. The Welsh site later passed to the Harley family and in the eighteenth century to a Colonel Wood, who used it for shooting. Circa 1807, the Llanthony estate was bought by the poet Walter Savage Landor, whose attempts to run it as a country estate failed. The buildings deteriorated gradually, but the site is now in the hands of CADW, the body for Welsh heritage.

Chapter 2

The Beginnings of the Collection

The origins of Llanthony's book collection are hazy. Nevertheless, the evidence of the surviving early manuscripts, combined with our knowledge of the circumstances of the priory's foundation, allows us to propose some potential sources of the nucleus of the fledgling community's collection. In the very early 1100s, when the site that later became Llanthony Prima was occupied solely by William de Laci and subsequently also by Ernisius and a few disciples (and even, perhaps, for some years after that), the nature of the group and the paucity of its resources make the manufacture of books by the community itself unlikely. Nevertheless, it must have had books. The house chronicle records that:

‘In the first beginning of his conversion, this beloved of God [William] had small knowledge in letters... [but God instructed] him in the knowledge of letters, and in writing, that the Word of God might be perfect in his heart, though not in learned volumes; insomuch that in few years he was honoured with priest's orders, of which he was worthy.’¹

This might be interpreted as indicating that there were some books at the site of the hermitage and suggest William as a user of such volumes. The ambiguous wording of the chronicle may imply that he read, for example, the Psalms but not commentaries thereon. The chronicler later characterises William as illiterate, as part of a contrast between his unsophisticated level of learning and that of the educated Ernisius, his companion.²

Whether or not books were made ‘in-house’ during the first decade of the twelfth century, other routes by which the incipient community might have acquired volumes are discernable. We are told, for example, that Ernisius was a priest and

¹ Julius D.x: Roberts, *Some Account...*, pp. 8, 50.

² *Ibid.*, p. 51 says of William and Ernisius's companionship: ‘Thus was it...that the weak [William] should confound the wise [Ernisius], the illiterate the learned, the simple should instruct the knowing and the experienced’.

formerly a royal chaplain; he would, therefore, have been accustomed to using and reading books. He had also once been a recluse, during which time he might have possessed texts for contemplative reading. He may have been in a position to have brought books with him when retiring subsequently to Llanthony. Ernisius also provided a direct conduit between the early Llanthony community and the royal court which, under the aegis of Henry I and Queen Matilda, demonstrated an interest in the progress and patronage of the Augustinian canons in England. This raises the possibility that the king and queen (and perhaps others connected with the court) provided gifts to the new foundation, which could have included books. Ecclesiastical literary patronage is another possibility, perhaps, for example, via the involvement of Anselm of Canterbury in the community's earliest years.³ The Augustinian canons from Merton, Colchester and Holy Trinity, Aldgate who assisted and joined Llanthony Prima at its foundation might have offered help in the way of book provision; at the very least, if they did not donate books, they might have permitted access to their own manuscripts for use as exemplars. Unfortunately, it is now impossible to know very much about the resources of these houses, although it should be remembered that, as Augustinian communities, they were very young themselves and thus unlikely to have had great bibliographical holdings.⁴ They were also geographically distant from Llanthony. Any other, unknown, community could also have made donations to the young foundation, although the site's physical isolation may have hindered the willingness or ability of others to do this or to loan exemplars. Although all of the above-mentioned patrons seem feasible, no specific manuscript can be connected to any of them.

³ Other communities received donations of books at their foundation: a precedent for such an ecclesiastical benefaction was set by Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester (963-84) who donated books to Peterborough when re-founding it (c. 965). The donation is printed from London, Society of Antiquaries, 60 (fos. 39^v-40^v) by M. Lapidge, 'Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England, Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33-89, pp. 52-55.

⁴ Indeed, examination of the surviving books of these three communities (based on the information given in *MLGB/Suppl.*) shows that although thirty volumes are extant from Merton, the bulk of these dates from the thirteenth century or later and includes a good number of printed books. No surviving volumes are of pre-twelfth-century date; one survivor is twelfth-century; two are from s. xii^{ex}; one is s. xii-xiii. The survival of books from Colchester is particularly poor – only one MS from the twelfth century and another from the thirteenth. Nothing earlier than the thirteenth century survives from Holy Trinity, Aldgate. No extant Llanthony MS is obviously linked to one of these houses. Nevertheless, the inclusion in H460 of *Consuetudinarius de Mertona. quatermus* (A16.447) is suggestive.

Five books of Llanthony provenance pre-date the foundation of the community. They were not, therefore, made at Llanthony itself. Later evidence clearly associates these books with Llanthony and it is impossible to know exactly when they reached the priory; however it is a reasonable assumption that at least some of them arrived at an early date, possibly via one of the routes outlined above.

The oldest surviving book to be associated with Llanthony is LP 377, a copy of Isidore of Seville's *De summo bono*. Written in Caroline minuscule with headings in uncials, this dates from around the second quarter of the ninth century and is attributed on palaeographical grounds to Tours.⁵ Some marginal glosses are in Old English,⁶ and correction in an English Square Minuscule hand shows that the volume was already in England in the tenth century. It would seem therefore to have been passed to Llanthony from another (unidentified) English foundation.⁷ Folio 39^v has a marginal supply in a Square Minuscule hand of the first half of the tenth century, which was, interestingly, recopied in the first half of the twelfth century onto a slip of parchment inserted between folios 39 and 40, and f. 16^r bears a correction in an English hand of the first half of the twelfth century which, it is tempting to consider, could have been done at Llanthony.⁸

The next oldest book associated with Llanthony is LP 427, a Psalter with a continuous interlinear gloss in Old English (plus prefatory material). This dates from the turn of the tenth to the eleventh century and possibly originated at Winchester. An Anglo-Saxon gloss would have been of questionable utility in

⁵ B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, Teil II: Laon-Paderborn (Wiesbaden, 2004), p. 126. Plate VII.

⁶ Fos. 14^r, 18^r, 39^v.

⁷ F. 2^v bears a correction of s. x^{ex}-xiⁱⁿ in a Canterbury-style 'Squarish' Caroline (thanks to my supervisor for this information). This is interesting given the involvement of Anselm of Canterbury in Llanthony's foundation and some MSS that we shall consider in the following chapter which contain an early version of some of his work.

⁸ Other twelfth-century interventions are on 56^r and 103^v (both s. xii^l). Also of interest is a scribbled verse (pen-trial) on the end-leaf (f. 169^v) (*Aequore congelido zephyrus fert xenia kymbe[?]*), which includes all of the letters of the alphabet, in a continental-type hand of s. xi-xiiⁱⁿ. This phrase is found also in LP 335, a thirteenth-century Llanthony glossed biblical book, in a hand of s. xiii-xiv. A fourteenth-century Llanthony Secunda provenance for LP 377 is suggested by the book's possible inclusion in H460 (A16.147?) and is shown by the fifteenth-century signature of Morgan of Carmarthen (plate VII).

the Latin-dominated Anglo-Norman church of the twelfth century (although c.1100 Old English would still have been understood): the chief value of this manuscript would have lain in its copy of the Psalter text, the *sine qua non* of religious life, which Llanthony would have required from its foundation.⁹ This smallish volume, with an old-fashioned gloss, might be precisely the sort of semi-redundant book that an established religious house would select to give away in support of a new foundation. Subsequent interventions in the volume, extending in date from the late eleventh to fifteenth centuries, indicate that the book was of continuing use. For example, f. 78 is a fifteenth-century supply leaf, whose scribe has attempted, in vain, to reproduce correctly the Anglo-Saxon gloss, demonstrating that somebody, presumably at Llanthony, was still sufficiently interested in the book and its gloss three centuries later to try to repair it.¹⁰ Folios 210-211 of this book contain two fragmentary texts in Old English, both of which have Kentish connections and date from the late eleventh century (c.1070-90).¹¹ Though the route by which they reached Llanthony is uncertain, these folios further attest to connections with Kent and the see of Canterbury in the earlier twelfth century.

The third manuscript that pre-dates Llanthony's foundation survives merely as two leaves which were, at an indeterminate point, used to bind LP 119, a book made in-house at Llanthony in s. xii^{ex}.¹² The leaves, which are of tenth-century date, contain an anonymous commentary on Matthew's Gospel, in Latin and Irish. That the manuscript of which they formed a part was dismembered and its

⁹ New recruits to religious communities were required to know the Psalter by heart. This is a rare example of a MS of Llanthony provenance that could have been used in a service. Other copies of the Psalter text of Llanthony provenance survive from later in the 1100s, but they are of a specifically scholastic nature.

¹⁰ F. 209^v bears the inscriptions *X^{cem}* and *R. Lanthonie.Henr.* in a fifteenth-century hand, indicating Llanthony provenance then: N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 280.

¹¹ F. 210: *Vita S. Mildrethae* (Mildred of Thanet); f. 211: text concerning Kentish royal saints (R.G. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c.1066-1130)*, [Oxford, 1999] [henceforth *MENE*], no. 595). Ker (*Cat. Anglo-Saxon*, no. 281) notes that the contents of f. 211^r agree with part of the first part of the text known as the *Resting Places of the Saints* and that the script resembles that found in Exeter books of the period. These leaves were used in the fifteenth century or earlier in the binding of LP 427. Their origin is unknown.

¹² LP 1229 (nos. 7, 8). LP 119 is one of the Llanthony books at Lambeth Palace which were rebound in the time of Archbishop Sancroft (1678-90); however the fact that these leaves bear a Cambridge University Library shelfmark suggests that they might have been deployed in its binding prior to the sojourn at Cambridge of many Lambeth MSS from 1647-1664.

parts put to other uses indicates that it was – by the (uncertain) time in question – no longer considered of value. Possibly it had been damaged or superseded by a more recent exposition; more probably the use of the Irish language rendered it obsolete.¹³

In contrast to the previous items, which significantly pre-date the foundation of Llanthony, LP 431 (fos. 146-60) dates from the turn of the eleventh to twelfth centuries.¹⁴ It is possible, therefore, that it is one of the earliest manuscripts to have been produced for, or just conceivably even by, Llanthony itself. It contains Pseudo-Augustine (Ambrosius Autpertus), *De conflictu uitiorum atque uirtutum*. English religious houses were eager to obtain the writings of St. Augustine of Hippo in the post-Conquest period; this text might have been desirable as apparently containing his work.¹⁵ The last item of this group, LP 173 (fos. 223-32), containing the anonymous *Sermo in die omnium sanctorum*, dates to the same time and could also be either a gift to the new community or one of the first books to have been produced there.¹⁶

This miscellaneous group of books, including a Psalter, is roughly what one might expect a fledgling community at this date to be able to beg or borrow, and might illustrate the semi-haphazard beginnings of any such collection.¹⁷ That said, there does not, regrettably, appear to be any internal evidence to document a link between any of these books and Llanthony until the later medieval period.¹⁸ Therefore, one should avoid making too much of any individual member of this little ‘group’.

¹³ Llanthony had considerable property in Ireland, where perhaps the MS from which these leaves came was once owned or used. They are the earliest in date of a handful of MSS of Llanthony provenance which contain evidence either of having once been in Ireland or of a connection to one of Llanthony’s cells there.

¹⁴ Gameson, *MENE*, no. 596, dates this MS to 1090-1110.

¹⁵ This portion of LP 431 bears a fifteenth-century *ex libris* of Llanthony Secunda.

¹⁶ Gameson, *MENE*, no. 590.

¹⁷ Similarly, Teresa Webber notes that the MSS that the Salisbury canons acquired from elsewhere in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries hold a motley collection of texts, in contrast to the coherent content of the books produced by the canons themselves. That the former are mostly ‘older’ books indicates that they were not commissioned for Salisbury and that they may have been *ad hoc* acquisitions. *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c.1075-c.1125* [henceforth *Salisbury*] (Oxford, 1992), pp. 80-1.

¹⁸ The provenance details for each volume may be found in the handlist of MSS (appendix 1).

Chapter 3

Llanthony Prima's Early Books

We now come to a second group of manuscripts whose date (first third of the twelfth century) allows that they were amongst the earliest books to have belonged to Llanthony. In common with the final two manuscripts examined in the previous chapter, the volumes here considered are sufficiently late in date to permit that they were made specifically by or for the priory. Their content and appearance may therefore be more significant than those of the manuscripts pre-dating Llanthony's foundation, as these coming volumes may represent the choices and interests of the Llanthony canons rather than having being received, perhaps, fortuitously.¹

Of particular interest is that the tranche of volumes of Llanthony provenance dating from the first third of the twelfth century (pre-1136) may be proposed as the property of Llanthony Prima. Whether these books were produced 'in-house' (by Llanthony canons or by 'borrowed' personnel from elsewhere with experience of book production), or received as donations, acquisitions or commissions from other communities, they are for that reason unusual amongst Llanthony's surviving corpus. It is difficult to establish at which house 'Llanthony' manuscripts post-dating the foundation of Llanthony Secunda originated or were owned. It is most natural to suppose, from the general silence of the sources concerning it, that the mother-house was comparatively unprosperous following the foundation of its daughter - and especially so following the division of the community c.1205 - and that, therefore, most of the surviving 'Llanthony' manuscripts are from Secunda.² However, as we have

¹ Nevertheless, these MSS could also have been donations or cast-offs from elsewhere.

² The surviving MSS of known Llanthony Prima provenance are numerically modest, both inherently and compared to those of Llanthony Secunda provenance and those of general 'Llanthony' provenance (bearing in mind that some inscriptions in Llanthony books include names whose owners are unidentified and who could have been canons of Prima). They are listed in appendix 2. Many extant twelfth-century Llanthony volumes are listed in the mid-fourteenth-century library catalogue, which is specifically of Llanthony Secunda. This suggests that they remained at the Gloucester house after the 1205 separation. It is possible that extant Llanthony volumes pre-dating but not recorded in H460 were at Llanthony Prima in the 1300s.

seen, the early history of Llanthony in Julius D.x records that William de Laci could read whilst a hermit at Llanthony Prima and that books from Prima were removed to Gloucester following the foundation of Llanthony Secunda.³ The Welsh community had, therefore, acquired books by 1136, including, in all likelihood, those considered here, only one of which, regrettably, has a discernible connection to Llanthony Prima.⁴ Such early volumes are the best indication of the practicalities of manuscript acquisition at Llanthony Prima, of how an isolated and poor community surmounted the difficulties of obtaining books. Additionally, these books comprise the foundation of Llanthony's collection and may therefore reflect the formative influences on the community. The twelfth century produced all of Llanthony's known house scholars, so the literature present at Llanthony in their time is also important for its potential influence on them.

Llanthony's altered circumstances post-c.1108 may have led to a greater need for books there. The formalisation of the community would presumably have brought an increased programme of liturgical obligation than might have been the case when the site was a hermitage; this would have necessitated the acquisition of a full range of *liturgica*.⁵ The community numbered forty canons after the election of Ernisius as prior and existed at the Welsh Llanthony site for another two decades before the forced adjournment to Hereford. The larger number of canons would have made a greater number of books for personal and communal reading desirable. Such factors might have prompted the community to redouble its attempts to obtain books, and the nine early books which we now consider may reflect such efforts.

If it seems unlikely that the earliest members of the hermitage at Llanthony would have had the resources necessary to manufacture books themselves, the circumstances surrounding Llanthony Prima's early life as an Augustinian priory do make it likely that some of its books were written in-house. The two earliest

³ Roberts, *Some Account...*, pp. 8, 50, 26, 61.

⁴ BL, Royal 8 D.viii, whose calendar (f. 10^v) records *Dedicatio ecclesiae de Lant.* on 4th July, referring to Llanthony Prima (see further below).

⁵ Whose existence must be inferred, as it has, with the exception of LP 427 (Psalter glossed in Old English; s. x/xi; considered in the previous chapter) and a couple of sermons, not survived.

occupants of the site, William de Laci and Ernisius, had knowledge of books; new recruits may have increased the number of potential scribes there (and, consequently, the number of styles and influences that might have touched books produced in-house). Some of those who came a little later to Llanthony, such as Robert de Béthune, William of Wycombe and Robert de Braci, all of whom were educated and scholarly, would have been able to write and have been influential in shaping the early collecting policy.⁶ The community's probably initially-limited financial resources may have been boosted by the expansion of its endowments at this time, providing money which could have funded book-making.⁷ Its location amongst good grazing ground meant that parchment should have been readily available,⁸ although acquiring other materials necessary for book production may have been harder. Chiefly, Llanthony's physical inaccessibility would have rendered gaining access to exemplars difficult and other communities reluctant to loan precious books for copying.⁹ Furthermore, the obvious geographically-suitable centres to supply exemplars - Hereford, Gloucester, Winchcombe – did not have extensive collections of their own at this time, whilst Worcester's collection was reasonable if a little outdated.¹⁰ However, the example of Salisbury at a similar time demonstrates that books

⁶ For example, Prior Robert de Béthune had previously studied in France with Anselm of Laon and William of Champeaux, giving him experience and knowledge which would have been valuable to Llanthony. For Robert's education, see *Life*, ed. Parkinson, pp. 108, 110, 112. Unfortunately, exactly when these individuals joined Llanthony is unknown.

⁷ Herbert notes that English Augustinian priories that had evolved from hermitages in the 1100s were often very poor and did not therefore have the resources to produce (even) foundation narratives of their communities ('Transformation of Hermitages into Augustinian Priories', p. 134). Llanthony, though, was atypical amongst such houses in that it acquired considerable wealth and numbers of canons and produced the account of its early life that survives in Julius D.x.

⁸ Julius D.x records that the site of Llanthony Prima had springs and rich meadows for feeding cattle, the hide of which was a pre-requisite for the production of parchment (although other types of hide could also be used if necessary) (Roberts, *Some Account...*, p. 48).

⁹ Presumably a difficulty experienced also by other isolated communities, such as Cistercian houses. The elevation of Prior Robert de Béthune to the bishopric of Hereford in 1129 might indicate that he, and by extension his community, was by then established in the ecclesiastical world. Webber observes that the head of a community could be crucial in obtaining exemplars (*Salisbury*, pp. 44-5 for examples).

¹⁰ In 1088, Gloucester city and abbey church suffered disaster (the nature of which is unspecified, but which necessitated new building) in the rebellion against William II and there were fires in 1102 and 1122 (A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, [Cambridge, 1965], p. 83). Julius D.x records that the brother of Hugh de Laci, Lord of Ewias and Llanthony Prima's early patron, was a monk and then abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester (Roberts, *Some Account...*, p. 52). This provides an early connection between the two communities and a potential opportunity for patronage. All manner of transitory contact (not necessarily direct) with other centres, via which exemplars might have been borrowed, is also possible.

could be produced despite adverse circumstances.¹¹ In addition to home manufacture, Llanthony Prima might still have received old, unwanted or decrepit volumes from elsewhere.

If, though, home manufacture seems likely during this formative and isolated time, one should not expect it to result in consistencies in the appearance of the volumes in question: books produced by the first generation of recruits to a new foundation, whose scribal skills may have been formed before they came to Llanthony, would probably lack cohesion. Whilst some similarities might be visible in the earliest products, due to the likelihood that some individuals worked on more than one book, both time and direction would be necessary to produce a consistent style.

Turning, then, to our nine books dating from the early twelfth century, we find an interesting mixture of 'classic' texts interspersed with some contemporary material.¹² Three books contain patristic texts: Augustine's *Confessiones*; Ambrose's *De mysteriis* and *De Sacramentis* and Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae*; and Books I-X of Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*.¹³ Two are copies of Pseudo-Hegesippus's *Historiae libri V de bello iudaico*.¹⁴ Another contains a collection of *vitae* and *visiones*.¹⁵

¹¹ Webber, *Salisbury*, p. 29.

¹² The two MSS of s. xi/xii considered in the previous chapter could also have been produced at Llanthony: LP 431 (fos. 145-60) (Pseudo-Augustine [Ambrosius Autpertus], *De conflictu uitiorum atque uirtutum*) and LP 173 (fos. 223-32) (*Sermo in die omnium sanctorum*).

¹³ Respectively LP 365 (fos. i, ii, 1-119), Bodley 839, OTC 39 (plate VIII). Bodley 839 also contains theological extracts from Augustine, Anselm, Isidore, Jerome and Alcuin (a personal selection?). The text beginning at f. 154^v of this MS, a sermon on John the Baptist, is found also in HCL P.VIII.7 (f. 65), a Hereford-produced *homiliarium* of s. xii² with similarities to collections in twelfth-century MSS from Lincoln and Worcester (Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, pp. 116-9).

¹⁴ I.e. the Latin *Historia Iosephi de bello iudaico et excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae*. LP 378 (fos. 125-65) (plate IX); LP 173 (fos. 1-156).

¹⁵ LP 173 (fos. 157-222): the *Vita S. Abrahae* of Ephraim the Syrian, James the Deacon's (Eustochius) *Vita S. Pelagiae*, the anonymous *Vita S. Fursei*, *Visio Baronti* and *Visio Wettini*, the *Visio Drihthelmi* and *Visiones* taken from Bede (*ex Historia Ecclesiastica* V.12, V.13-14; i.e. monitory texts about the fate awaiting mortals for their sins) and *De Antigono et Eufraxia*.

More recent material is found in four books. The aforementioned Bodley 839 contains the *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani* of Gilbert Crispin (d.1117).¹⁶ The final three manuscripts from this early group are particularly interesting, as they suggest that Llanthony played a significant role in the transmission of the work of another modern writer, Anselm of Canterbury. Royal 5 F.ix (fos. 1-56) (c.1110-30) and Royal 8 D.viii (c.1130) are the earliest extant witnesses to *De humanis moribus per similitudines*, a systematic treatment of virtues and vices within the context of religious life, which may have been produced by an amanuensis working under Anselm's dictation and direction, though without his final supervision.¹⁷ The material found in the *De moribus* existed by Anselm's death (1109), probably at Canterbury.¹⁸ The texts of Royal 5 F.ix and 8 D.viii are almost identical and closely related to each other; however neither was copied from the other.¹⁹ Intriguingly, the early manuscript tradition indicates that dissemination of this text in its original state occurred from Llanthony or a house in the surrounding area: there are only six manuscripts of the work in its original form, the two earliest, as we have seen, from Llanthony, whilst other early copies survive from Hereford and Gloucester, adding to the weight for dissemination radiating from the west country.²⁰ If at first glance it seems surprising that the two earliest extant manuscripts of this text should be associated with Llanthony, rather than with Christ Church, Canterbury, it is

¹⁶ Fos. 108-139. The recent editors of this text note that Gilbert's friendship with Anselm of Canterbury is evident in his work (see further chapter 6) - significant, perhaps, in view of the MSS that we next discuss.

¹⁷ *Memorials of St. Anselm*, ed. R.W. Southern and F.S. Schmitt (London, 1969), pp. 4-8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16, presents evidence for this.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-121. In addition to the two Llanthony copies, a third MS (CUL Ff.4.45; s. xiii, Titchfield) is an immediate copy of Royal 5. F.ix. The fourth copy belonged (ultimately) to Hereford Cathedral (HCL, P.I.i; s. xii²) but was made and kept at St. Peter's, Gloucester (Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, pp. 64-5). The fifth belonged to Gloucester Abbey (a copy of the Hereford book: HCL, O.I.ii; s. xiii^m, at St. Peter's, Gloucester, from early on [Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, pp. 3-5]) and the sixth to St-Germain-des-Prés (Paris, BNF, lat.12311; s. xii²), although perhaps written in England and closely related to the Llanthony copies (*Memorials*, ed. Southern and Schmitt, p. 11). This suggests that there was contact between and that exemplars were shared between Llanthony and the communities of Titchfield and Gloucester. It may be significant that the four non-Llanthony copies post-date the foundation of Llanthony Secunda, indicating that the relocation of Llanthony to Gloucester allowed it to share its texts with other communities. Did those other communities reciprocate the favour? The earliest copy of another text ascribed to Anselm, the *De custodia interioris hominis*, and an otherwise unknown early draft of the *De Incarnatione Verbi* are both also contained in the Hereford manuscript which contains the *De moribus*. If Royal 5 F.ix (fos. 1-56) is A16.160, it was still at Llanthony in the 1300s: if it went to Titchfield as an exemplar for CUL Ff.4.45, it was returned.

nevertheless not inexplicable. After all, Anselm was closely connected with the foundation of Llanthony Prima.²¹ There is, it is true, no evidence that any early Llanthony canon was among Anselm's pupils, but as we know the identity and backgrounds of few of the community, this is hardly surprising and not significant.²²

Royal 8 D.viii is of additional interest to the historian of Llanthony because it is described in the lower border of f. 1 as *Excepciones Roberti de braci* and in Llanthony Secunda's fourteenth-century library catalogue as *Excepciones Roberti de Bracij. mediocris liber.*²³ This implies that the community's third prior Robert de Braci (1131-7) was responsible for its compilation and provides important evidence for his personal scholarship.²⁴ The theological miscellany in Royal 8 D.viii was probably compiled over a number of years and was kept up-to-date: corrections and additions by the original scribe have converted the early version of Anselm's *De humanis moribus*, which the manuscript originally contained, into the later, enlarged version (*De similitudinibus*), which achieved wide circulation.²⁵ Although it cannot be proven that Robert was himself responsible for emending the manuscript, the circumstance that it was associated with him and the fact that it was revised at an early date imply scholarly activity at Llanthony and the maintenance of contact with Canterbury. The second part of Royal 5 F.ix (fos. 57-196, originally a separate volume) contains several more Anselmian works.²⁶

²¹ Indeed, there is no evidence that Christ Church, Canterbury, ever had a MS of the *De moribus* (*ibid.*, p. 12).

²² Apart from its scholars and priors, the only twelfth-century Llanthony canon whose name and activities are known is Peter le Kauf, appointed archdeacon of Shropshire by Robert de Béthune (A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters* [London, 1965], pp. 199, 268).

²³ A16.233.

²⁴ In addition to the Anselmian material, this MS contains many miscellaneous theological extracts for monastic use (from, for example, Ivo of Chartres, Hildebert of Le Mans, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Isidore, Leo the Great, Bede and Pseudo-Seneca), presumably made by Robert de Braci, and a copy of the Rule of St. Augustine. A calendar (f. 10^v) records *Dedicatio ecclesiae de Lant.* at 4th July, but this is crossed out in favour of *Dedicatio ecclesiae nostrae* on 10th September, referring to the dedication of the church of Llanthony Secunda in 1136. See G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum*, 4 vols., (London, 1921), vol. I for the full contents of the MS.

²⁵ *Memorials*, ed. Southern and Schmitt, pp. 296-7; R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997) [henceforth *Handlist*], no. 1433.

²⁶ *De libertate arbitrii, De processione Spiritus Sancti, De incarnatione Verbi, Epistolae.*

Llanthony Prima therefore began, in the first generation of its existence, to acquire work by writers of long-standing authority which would form the basis of any contemporary monastic book collection. The miscellanies in Bodley 839 and Royal 8 D.viii provide a useful sprinkling of the work of a variety of authors, which would have significantly broadened the base of the collection. The texts by more recent authors might be more ‘fortuitous’ gains by a community that had not yet obtained the basic works of the church fathers; the attachment of the name of Robert de Braci to the Anselmiana in Royal 8. D.viii may suggest the identity of the conduit between Canterbury and Llanthony. At any rate, the works of Gilbert Crispin and Anselm suggest an interest in recent theology that is perhaps to be attributed to the presence at Llanthony Prima of men such as de Braci, Robert de Béthune and William of Wycombe. Most obviously lacking from these potential witnesses to book holding at Llanthony in its earliest years are – apart from the aforementioned LP 427 - service books and liturgical texts. Yet volumes such as Gospel-books, missals and lectionaries would have been essential and their existence can therefore safely be assumed.

Despite the fact that a first-generation scriptorium may not have been sufficiently disciplined to manufacture volumes of uniform appearance, examination of these manuscripts’ internal features provides valuable information about book production at Llanthony Prima. Codicologically, their broad degree of similarity in size and preparation for writing favours a common origin. The following table summarises the main features:

Shelfmark	Page Size (mm)	Written Area (mm)	Lines per page ²⁷	Ruling ²⁸	Line extensions ²⁹	Scribes	Decoration/ Articulation
LP 365 (1-119)	245 x c.160	187 x 112	30	DP	1 st , 3 rd , ante-penultimate, last.	2	Arabesque initials; rubricated capitals.
OTC 39 (Plate VIII)	310 x 185	239 x 130	40	DP	1 st , 2 nd , last 2-3.	At least 4.	Arabesque, bird, foliage initials.
LP 378 (125-65) (Plate IX)	228-32 x c.166	81 x 97	43	DP and pencil	1 st , 2 nd , penultimate, last.		Beast, historiated, foliage initials.
LP 173 (1-156)	300 x c.185	231 x 120	33	DP	1 st , 2 nd , penultimate, last.	Narrow, angular. More than one.	Prologue initial excised; plain/ embellished initials.
LP 173 (157-222)	300 x c.185	235 x 117	33	DP (some pencil)	1 st , 2 nd , penultimate, last.	Large, rounded; resembles, but thicker than, the 'Llanthony hand'. ³⁰	Later initials; excised, arabesque, jigsaw initials.
Royal 8 D.viii	250 x 160	c.190 x 120	45 DC (some long lines)	DP	1 st , 3 rd , penultimate, last.	Small, lower-case; several hands, all similar style.	Rubricated caps., initials, chapter-nos. etc.
Royal 5 F.ix (1-56)	250-5 x 170	185 x c.95	31	DP	1 st , 3 rd , ante-penultimate, last.	More than one, angular.	Small initials (sometimes embellished).
Royal 5 F.ix (57-196)	250-5 x 170	185 x 105	28	DP (some pencil)	1 st , 3 rd , ante-penultimate, last.	Upright, angular.	Plain initials.

Examination of these volumes' script and decoration yields some interesting points. Common hands would suggest manufacture in the same place and script may also suggest the conditions in which a book was produced. The *Moralia* manuscript OTC 39, for example, contains a high level of interweaving of scribal stints. At least four scribes shared the writing of the text proper. They use small, clear, consistent Anglo-Norman script and are very similar to each other. The scribe changes frequently, sometimes several times on a single page.³¹ This implies that the scribes involved in writing this book were at the same house

²⁷ All MSS are written in long lines unless double columns ('DC') are specified.

²⁸ 'DP' signifies dry point ruling.

²⁹ i.e. which ruled lines traverse the bounding-lines of the text-block and extend to the edge of the page.

³⁰ For which see the following chapter.

³¹ For example, on f. 2^r, the beginning of the preface, Scribe 1 writes lines 1-11, Scribe 2 lines 11-22 and Scribe 1 the remainder.

during its manufacture.³² The impression given is of an attempt to keep work on the writing of the text going as continuously as possible and of co-operation amongst an (official or not) rota of scribes, with one taking over when another was unavailable.³³ This was no doubt motivated by a desire to copy the text as speedily as possible, in accordance with the new community's need for essential texts. It also implies either that this manuscript was copied from a borrowed exemplar which had to be returned or that the writing was expedited in order to provide a copy of the *Moralia* for Llanthony with all celerity. The Llanthony canons were not at this early point in a position to be particular about the appearance of their books and, following the Norman ideal, their main concern should have been for the content and accuracy of their texts.³⁴

Do the hands of these four potential Llanthony scribes in OTC 39 recur in any of the other books in this group? Bodley 839 (which seems slightly later than OTC 39) was also written by several scribes, whose hands are rounder and larger than those of OTC 39.³⁵ Its scribal stints are longer than those in OTC 39: for example, the majority of its first text was probably written by the same scribe.³⁶ However, none of its hands is reminiscent of those in OTC 39 until fos. 117^v-118^r and, although close comparison reveals some specific similarities between this hand and those of OTC 39, it is very hard to discern whether this is the work of the same scribes. Other books in this group also employ more than one scribe.³⁷ However, I have been unable to isolate the work of the same scribes across these manuscripts. This may be consistent with theories that this phase of production occurred too soon after Llanthony's foundation for a house-style to have been adopted; that many different scribes, trained in different places, wrote

³² Similar co-operation between the scribes of post-Conquest Salisbury books suggests that they worked in the same place (Webber, *Salisbury*, p. 10).

³³ Although there is nothing to suggest over what period of time the text was written, this seems more likely than that there were long pauses between the stints.

³⁴ As it is, the overall appearance of OTC 39 is coherent because the scribes' writing is similar. The later additions of *capitula* (s. xii^{2/4}) and a preface (s. xii/xiii) to OTC 39 suggest that the book was maintained over the course of the twelfth century. Might, however, their original omission (as non-essential components) be a consequence or indication of speedy production? (Alternatively, perhaps, the exemplar was merely faulty in not containing these features.)

³⁵ They are towards (but not in) the 'Llanthony hand' style of script found in a group of books of s. xii^{2/4} which are almost certainly in-house Llanthony Secunda products (examined in the next chapter).

³⁶ This section finishes on 25^r; one hand probably wrote fos. 1-19^r.

³⁷ E.g. Royal 5 F.ix (fos. 1-56), Royal 8 D.viii.

these books in order to hasten production; or that some of these volumes were not produced by the limited number of scribes working at Llanthony Prima, but manufactured elsewhere. In the case of Royal 8 D.viii, the particular nature of the book's script may explain why it does not resemble that of others of this group – the volume employs small and closely-written 'personal' script rather than a book-hand, in keeping, perhaps, with the individual character of this volume of excerpts. Despite the seeming lack of consistency in the script of these books, there are points of convergence. For example, OTC 39 contains marginal annotations in a LP 173-type hand - although the books were not written by the same person, they are, therefore, linked at a slightly later stage of their existence. Connections to a slightly later group of books are also discernible: like Bodley 839, LP 173 (fos. 157-222) features a larger, rounded hand which resembles that found in some Llanthony-produced books of the next generation of production. The hand that added the *capitula* to OTC 39 in the second quarter of the twelfth century is similar to that of the first scribe of OTC 51, a manuscript written in the 'Llanthony hand' style of script of that time.³⁸

The articulation of these books may also help to identify whether they have a common origin. It is modest, in keeping with the wider Norman prioritisation of text over appearance and with the new foundation's poverty and rush to copy books. It takes the form of coloured initials and letters, mostly plain and using a limited palette. Some, though, are embellished and certain modes of embellishment are common to more than one book of this early group. Moreover, they are common to some of the manuscripts considered in the next chapter which were almost certainly produced at Llanthony Secunda in the years following its establishment, in which they are associated with the 'Llanthony hand' script.

One of the simplest styles of initial, which I have designated 'minor boss-style', takes the form of a low-key, un-shaded, plain initial with circular 'studs' or

³⁸ The *capitula* cover books I-XXII of the *Moralia* and their insertion in s. xii^{2/4} is interesting because this is when Llanthony obtained its earliest extant copy of books XI-XXII of the text (OTC 40, s. xii^{2/4}). It is therefore possible that the *capitula* were added to OTC 39 following the acquisition of OTC 40 in order to act as a guide to both books.

‘bosses’ appended halfway along an arm or hanging from a crossbar.³⁹ This style is found in Royal 8 D.viii and LP 173 (fos. 157-222).⁴⁰ It is not exclusive to Llanthony: it can be found in at least one book of Canterbury provenance.⁴¹ A more elaborate form of this style (‘major boss-style’) also employs circular bosses, but with the addition of small cross-pieces on either side of them.⁴² A couple of examples of this are found in LP 173 (fos. 157-222),⁴³ but it is deployed to a greater extent in LP 365 (fos. 1-119).⁴⁴ This style of initial is found also in books produced by other west-country scriptoria. In particular, it was used at Worcester, especially during the first half of the twelfth century.⁴⁵ The ‘major boss-style’ motif seen in these Llanthony books is very close to a motif noted by Thomson as particularly popular at Worcester, which is found in books ranging in date from the first half of the eleventh to the mid thirteenth centuries.⁴⁶ However, variants of this motif are found also in books from other centres, notably Winchcombe: therefore it is not by itself an infallible indicator of Worcester origin.⁴⁷ A motif associated with Winchcombe is found in LP 365 (fos. 1-119) on f. 27^r – an initial *A* whose left-hand upright extends below the line and is formed of strands of foliage.⁴⁸

Thomson’s observation regarding Worcester’s scriptorium – that it exhibits a decorative spectrum with Winchcombe motifs at one end and Hereford ones at the other, and that it absorbed the styles of other centres rather than developing

³⁹ Plates XI, XVI, XXI.

⁴⁰ E.g. f. 188^r.

⁴¹ BL, Cotton Cleopatra E.1, f. 32 (Canterbury, 1120-1163), reproduced as plate 65 in A.G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Library*, 2 vols., (London, 1979); also BL, Cotton Vespasian A.IX f. 20 (England, 1131?), (*ibid.*, plate 70). See also Bodl. Rawl. A.416 (f. 95^r), copied for and perhaps in Reading Abbey (Coates, *Reading*, pl. 7).

⁴² Plate XX.

⁴³ Fos. 192 and 211^v.

⁴⁴ Fos. 1^r, 19^v, 50^b, 86^r, 95^v, 106^r.

⁴⁵ R.M. Thomson calls this style ‘Worcester flat-colour’: ‘Minor Manuscript Decoration from the West of England in the Twelfth Century’ in *Reading Texts and Images: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Patronage in honour of Margaret M. Manion*, ed. B.J. Muir (Exeter, 2002), pp. 19-34: see pp. 27-8 (Style 8) and fig. 7a. The ‘Worcester flat-colour’ style resembles Thomson’s Style 6 (albeit with slight differences of detail), ‘Winchcombe flat-colour’, executed mainly at Winchcombe but also elsewhere in the west country in s. xii¹ (*ibid.*, pp. 25-6).

⁴⁶ He describes the motif as a ball between two short strokes or pairs of strokes with finials/serifs. *Ibid.*, fig. 7a. Further examples are illustrated in R.M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 2001) [henceforth *Worcester*], plates 42a, f.

⁴⁷ Thomson, ‘Minor MS Decoration’, pp. 27-8.

⁴⁸ Illustrated *ibid.*, fig. 6b (again, Thomson’s ‘Worcester flat-colour’ style).

and imposing one of its own⁴⁹ - is interesting in view of the resemblances between the script and decoration in some of these books of Llanthony provenance and those in books from elsewhere. Similarities between the products of monastic scriptoria in a region might be expected, due to shared exemplars and personnel; however it is interesting that there is a likeness between such communities as Worcester and Winchcombe, on the one hand, and Llanthony Prima on the other, as the latter is the furthest west of the centres with which such work is associated and situated in unstable border territory. Such similarities in the first-generation books from Llanthony Prima might be attributed to the presence there of west-country exemplars or personnel, or, possibly, to the manufacture of the relevant volumes elsewhere in the region. That these styles of initial are found also in books from the second quarter-to-mid twelfth century of Llanthony Secunda provenance suggests continuity of personnel or influence spanning a generation of the community's history and two sites.⁵⁰ Especially interesting are the similarities between the initials of one book of this early group, LP 365 (fos. 1-119), and those in OTC 51, a book of the second-quarter-of-the-twelfth-century 'Llanthony hand' group,⁵¹ because of the above-noted resemblance between the script of OTC 51 and the hand that in s. xii^{2/4} added the *capitula* to another book of the group currently under consideration, OTC 39. These three books may therefore have been worked on by the same personnel and/or have been in the same place in s. xii^{2/4}.

Two books in this early group, OTC 39 and LP 378 (fos. 122-64), contain decoration in a common style which is distinct from that in the books just discussed. Their initials are more complex in design and different in technique. For example, the preface of OTC 39 (f. 2^r) is introduced by a largely uncoloured initial enclosing uncoloured inter-twining foliage against coloured grounds; the initial at the beginning of the text (3^v) is formed by a bird stretching down the outer margin exhaling foliage: uncoloured, its markings are delineated in ink-of-text. The opening initial *B* of book three is again composed of uncoloured

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵⁰ Other styles of initial found in this group of books from Llanthony Prima can also be traced in MSS of the following generation of acquisition.

⁵¹ For example, between LP 365, f. 42^r and OTC 51 fos. 25^v, 48^v and between fos. 59^r and 68^v of LP 365 and OTC 51 fos. 14^v, 43^v.

foliage.⁵² Some of the initials in LP 378 (fos. 122-64) are even more detailed. Two interesting examples are on f. 122^r/125^r: for that to the prologue, the outline of letter, internal acanthus strands, quadruped and bird are plain and delineated only in ink, whilst the initial's internal grounds and those 'freehand' grounds added around its extended tail are red, green or pale yellow.⁵³ The tail of the letter is formed by another creature exhaling foliage and cuts horizontally across the entire width of the text-block, suggesting close collaboration between (or even identity of) the scribe and artist of this folio.⁵⁴ At the bottom of the same page, the initial prefacing the text is also executed in outline only, as is the seated man holding a book inscribed *egesippus* which it encloses, whilst the internal ground is coloured green.⁵⁵ The intricacy of these initials and the use of colour for the background of the letter rather than for the letter itself distances them from the initials in the other books of this group - they appear more sophisticated than the more usual solid-colour-with-flourishes. These initials are in a characteristically Norman style that appears in the work of a variety of scriptoria in England after the Conquest. They are within the same genre but not of the same family.

Collectively, the evidence of these books supports the statements of the chronicler in Julius D.x that Llanthony Prima had commenced book acquisition in the generation between its formalisation as a religious community and the flight to Hereford. Nine volumes is not, perhaps, many to show for the efforts of a forty-strong community over the course of some twenty-five years, but these survivors undoubtedly do not represent the total acquisitions, which the early community's complement of liturgical books at least would have swollen. This rather low number may reflect the logistical difficulties involved in acquiring books at a remote house. However, the books that do survive contain exactly the sort of traditional texts that an early-twelfth-century community would have

⁵² F. 28^v. Plate VIII.

⁵³ Plate IX.

⁵⁴ A similar example is found in OTC 39: f. 133^v has an arabesque initial whose tail extends diagonally into the text-block and between the words of the text. The scribe has left space for the tail of the letter.

⁵⁵ The initials to books two (149/152^v; formed by sinuous dragon exhaling foliage) and three (160/163^v) are in the same style.

prioritised; the more idiosyncratic material, such as the Anselm in a raw form, may hint at more particular, scholarly interests. Some of these early hands are alike but not in a distinctive 'west-country' style, some are unlike and others carry hints of the future. Although the connections between some of these books and Llanthony work of the next generation suggest that a couple may be in-house products, these books do not prove or disprove the case for an early scriptorium at Llanthony Prima. Such ambiguity is to be expected at an early stage in the life of a community, at a time when it was colonised by people from disparate areas and a regional script type was yet to develop. These books are likely to be a mixture of in-house products and volumes from elsewhere; unfortunately, the obvious candidates for external production are centres from which we have no books to compare with these Llanthony volumes. The visual disparities of this corpus as a whole indicate that, if there was an active scriptorium, it was not one with a firm discipline favouring a house-style. This was to change with the enforced migration to Gloucester.

Chapter 4

The 'Llanthony Hand' Books

We now examine a particular group of books of Llanthony provenance dating from the mid twelfth century. These volumes might be amongst the earliest made for Llanthony following the foundation of Llanthony Secunda in 1136.

The situation faced by the community in 1135-7 - with some canons compelled to flee the site of Llanthony Prima for Hereford and then Gloucester, where it was envisaged that only a few would remain in the long term, followed by what was to prove a permanent settlement of part of the community at Llanthony Secunda - had ramifications both for its existing books and for future provision. Initially, as the transplantation to Hereford was intended to be temporary, those who fled in 1136 may not have troubled or been able to carry with them any more than the basic liturgical texts necessary to perform their observances. They would doubtless also have been aware that their destination would not be devoid of books, which they could expect to find at Hereford cathedral. Meanwhile, the disturbance at Llanthony Prima is likely to have caused the destruction of some of its existing books. The more lasting bifurcation of the community following the foundation of Llanthony Secunda would have had great significance for its literary resources. How did those who stayed in Gloucester obtain their books? Borrowing them from Llanthony Prima would have deprived those remaining there of texts, but Llanthony's early historian records that books were indeed moved from Wales to Llanthony Secunda after the latter's foundation.¹ Although the early community had seemingly managed to acquire a modest haul of books during the quarter-century before 1135/6, it was not an especially large number for an expanding community and these resources undoubtedly became even more stretched when forced to serve the canons across two physically-separate sites. Furthermore, it is likely that Llanthony's arrival in a town and the greater wealth that it subsequently acquired would have resulted in an increase in the number of its canons and redoubled the community's need for books. How might more volumes have been acquired? Although the new emplacement was a daughter-house of the original priory, its position on the edge of the urban centre of Gloucester meant that its circumstances

¹ Julius D.x (Roberts, *Some Account...*, p. 61). Supporting this is the fact that all but one of the pre-1130 books examined in the previous chapter have a late-medieval provenance of Llanthony Secunda, demonstrating the movement of books (at an indeterminate point) between the two houses.

contrasted greatly with the isolation of the mother-house and would have reversed the usual mother-daughter relationship by making the daughter pre-eminent. Llanthony Secunda was in a much better location than Llanthony Prima to attract patronage and revenue. It did this successfully and immediately, giving it the greater resources, some of which could have been invested in books. These could have been manufactured at another local centre on Llanthony's behalf. Alternatively, the canons may simply have continued to produce books themselves, as they had probably done whilst at Llanthony Prima. The presence in Gloucester of St. Peter's Abbey meant that the refugees had a potentially valuable source of textual exemplars on their doorstep.² Llanthony Secunda was also situated to benefit from west-country networks for the sharing and copying of exemplars. These factors make it likely that books would have been produced at Llanthony Secunda; whether books were produced at or specifically for Llanthony Prima in the years following 1136 is unclear. Only a few books post-dating this time contain evidence of a connection to the Welsh house.³ For the remainder of the twelfth century (indeed, for the remainder of Llanthony's existence) there is little evidence concerning book provision at Llanthony Prima. We do not know, therefore, whether collecting continued there in the 1100s and, if so, by what means: home production (particularly during its late-twelfth-century revivification) or acquisitions from elsewhere (including from its daughter-house, whether permanently or as loans/exchanges).

Whilst the pre-1130 volumes of Llanthony provenance were, in some ways, a miscellaneous collection, the fourteen books that we now consider are strongly linked by common codicological, palaeographical and decorative features (which collectively point to a date in the second quarter-to-mid twelfth century) and seem to form a coherent group; moreover a twelfth-century *ex libris* securely places one of them at Llanthony then.⁴ They also contain texts of a similar nature. Such shared qualities indicate that these volumes have a common origin and investigation may enable us to establish whether their relationship is even closer: whether they are the work of a small group of scribes. Their essential features are summarised in the following table.

² Assessment of the relationship between the libraries of Gloucester and Llanthony Secunda is hampered by the poor survival of the former's books (cf. *MLGB*, pp. 91-2).

³ However, the absence of evidence for Llanthony Prima ownership or use should not eliminate the possibility that 'Llanthony' books have a connection to it.

⁴ LP 189.

Shelf-mark	Brief Content	Codicology Size ⁵ Mise-en-page ⁶		Script	Decoration/ Articulation ⁷	Provenance ⁸
LP 56	<i>Visio Taionis</i> ; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i> (bks. I-X).	Pg: c.357 x c.210; WA: c. 247 x 145.	35 llpp; DP; prickings. ⁹	1st leaf in later (s. xii) hand (<i>Visio Taionis</i>). Text apparently by same hand throughout (although variation in ink colour & aspect on final pgs).	Rubrics (R/G), initials (B/G/R, plain or [Bks. 8, 9] arabesqued in G/R), R &/or IOT display-caps.. ¹⁰ R/G explicit/incipits. TC. Most pgs unarticulated. NM.	Numbering. A16.44. MC.
LP 101	John Cassian, <i>Collationes XXIV</i> .	Pg: c. 320 x c.195; WA: 246 x 134.	42 llpp; DP (some pencil); ATL; usual ruling extensions ¹¹	'Llanthony' script; also a style likened to that used at Gloucs. Abbey, prompting the suggestion this is 101's true origin. See below. 2/3 scribes.	R/G/brown initials, plain/sparsely arabesqued/fringed. <i>Capitula</i> . Bks: plain R/G/B/P capitals in text. Rubricated inc./expl.	A16.217. MC.

⁵ All measurements are in millimetres. The first measurement is the page size, the second the written area of the page ('WA').

⁶ Llpp: number of long lines per page; DP: dry point ruling. ATL: the text begins above the topmost ruled line of the page.

⁷ This is concentrated in these books around the opening of the volume and of new texts: unless further specified, this is where the articulation/decoration mentioned is located. Colours are abbreviated (R: red; G: green; B: blue; Y: yellow; P: purple). IOT ('ink-of-text') denotes that brown/black ink is used. TC denotes the use of 'thickened' capitals in the text-block. NM denotes the presence of *nota*-marks.

⁸ For all of the MSS in this group (except LP 101 and OTC 40), Ker/Watson's (*MLGB/Suppl.*) attribution to Llanthony is based on evidence from the character of the book's script/illumination (LP 1229 (nos. 14, 15) is attributed on character of script by Bill, *Catalogue*). Aspect of script also led James (*Catalogue*) to attribute all of the Lambeth MSS here considered (except LP 1229) to Llanthony. Further provenance information given here is i) 'numbering': some Llanthony books contain distinctive numbering (of books etc.) in their lower margins (discussed further in the following chapter); ii) a number prefixed by 'A16.' denotes the entry with which the book can be identified in Llanthony's fourteenth-century library catalogue (H460) in the edition of Webber and Watson, *Augustinian Canons*; iii) 'MC' indicates that the book was annotated by Canon Morgan of Carmarthen (s. xv) (see chapter 9 and appendix 4).

⁹ 'Prickings' indicates that these guides for ruling are visible.

¹⁰ Some initials missing: either never added (e.g. that to prologue, f. 1) or excised (that prefixed to Book 1). Ker notes that the standard of decoration in English *Moralia* manuscripts is often disappointing ('The English Manuscripts of the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great', *Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. A. Rosenauer and G. Weber [Salzburg, 1972], pp. 77-89, p. 83). Certainly, although the largest of these manuscripts, LP 56 is also the plainest, containing large initials that lack the embellishment that would make them imposing.

¹¹ 'Usual ruling extensions': the first, third, antepenultimate and last lines extend beyond the text-block and across the margins of the page.

LP 189	2 s. xii fly-leaves <i>ex service vol.</i> Hugh of S.-Victor, <i>De Sacramentis Lib. II.</i>	Pg: c.290 x c.185. WA: 215 x 127.	29-30 llpp; DP; ATL; usual ruling extensions Prickings.	<i>Capitula</i> in more compressed script than text. Hyphens at end of lines. Shares scribe with Rawl. A.374 and OTC 33 (<i>q.v.</i>).	Rubrics. ¹² Initials: plain (R/G/buff)/with decorated tail (Y/G). IOT caps. <i>Capitula</i> . ¹³ R paraph-marks, Ro. nos. Numbered across top of opening in IOT. TC. Authorities shown. ¹⁴	<i>Ex libris</i> ¹⁵ . A16.226. ¹⁶
LP 365 (fos. 120-228). Plate X.	Augustine, <i>De doctrina christiana</i> . Ps-Aug., <i>Contra Felicianum</i> .	Pg: 245 x c.160. WA: 179 x 110.	28 llpp; DP; ATL; usual ruling extensions Prickings. Quire sigs.. ¹⁷	Brown ink, v. regular, sits just on ruled lines. Probably change of pen & ink, rather than of hand, 132 ^v . Both texts in same hand. Hyphens at end of lines; Greek words transliterated.	Rubrics (120 ^r , 205 ^r). Initials (G/R/B; plain/MBS ¹⁸ /foliage decoration). Display-capitals (IOT/rubricated). R expl./incipit. IOT caps. TC. IOT expl. highlighted in R.	A16.182.
LP 372 (fos. 42-82 ^v). N.B. LP 1229 (14, 15) is the former binding of LP 372 (see below). ¹⁹	Aug., <i>De gratia et libero arbitrio</i> ; <i>Sermo de utilitate agende penitentie</i> ; <i>Item unde supra</i> .	Pg: 240 x 165-70. WA: 180 x 111.	28 llpp; DP; ATL; usual ruling extensions All prickings visible. Begins at a new unit Quire sigs.. ²⁰	Clear, round Llanthony hand. Not as finely written as 1229 nos. 14, 15. Text sits just above ruled lines. Hand changes 66 ^r ? (new quire).	Rubrics. Initials (G/R, plain/'fringed' [cf. 74 ^r LP 101]). Display-capitals. TC.	
LP 397 (1 ^v -104) Plate XI.	Ailred of Rievaulx, <i>De speculo caritatis</i> .	Pg: c. 230 x 145-50. WA: 167 x 106.	25 llpp (22 for Q. III). DP; ATL;	Large, round, clear hand, same/similar hand writes	Rubrics. Initials (plain/MJBS ²¹ /MBS) (R/G/B/bronze). IOT/plain coloured	MC.

¹² Same formation of display/rubric capitals as LP 101, 372 (42-82^v), 365 (120-228).

¹³ Written by the text hand and as part of the text between the end of the *capitula* and the rubric for the beginning of the text (7^v) is *Singularum partium capitula ordine suo in loco a duobus / primis foliis diligenter repetantur.*; James comments (*Catalogue*) that 'the *capitula* are not however repeated (if that is the meaning of the direction)'.

¹⁴ Within chapters, paragraphs containing the work of a particular authority are marked with the name of that authority in R and the beginning of the paragraph is dignified by a plain initial (10^v: AUG^r; 13: Ambrosius); authorities are also cited in the margins (142^v: GGIN MORAL).

¹⁵ F. 2^r in large s.xii hand: *Liber Lantoniensis eccle*. *Qui / eum* [d]etinueRit [next two words erased:] *anathema sit*.

¹⁶ Where a partner volume is also recorded (*Hugo de sacramentis. duo libri. mediocres*).

¹⁷ Thick Roman nos. in lower margin in same ink as text (?). The ends of quires are similarly marked in LP 372 (fos. 42-82^v).

¹⁸ 'MBS' signifies 'minor boss-style' initial.

¹⁹ LP 1229 (nos. 14, 15) hold a liturgical text and this is, therefore, an example of the destruction of this sort of text and its re-use in binding. Unfortunately, it is now impossible to tell when LP 1229 (nos. 14, 15) were redeployed as binding material, meaning that it is not known when it was decided that the text was no longer relevant/the book was in too poor a condition to be of further use.

²⁰ Ends marked by thick ink Roman nos. in lower margin. These are in the same style as the capitals in the text, so could be by the main/contemporary scribe (fos. 49^v, 57^v, 65^v).

²¹ 'MJBS' denotes 'major boss-style' initial.

	(composed 1142-3, therefore this MS at least cannot pre-date this year).		usual ruling extensions Prickings.	rubrics. Bk 3 in a different hand/more closely written? Quire sigs. partially trimmed.	capitals. TC. R Ro. numerals. <i>Capitula</i> (bks have own). Book number on rectos.	
LP 452	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Super Cantica canticorum</i> .	Pg: 190 x 140; WA: 142 x 104. Borders cut close. Notably smaller than the others in this group.	26 llpp; DP (pencil 128 ^v [hand changes] until end); ATL; usual ruling extensions Prickings.	<i>Capitula</i> : a later hand. ²² Text: brown ink; sits well above ruled line; large, rounded 'Llanthony' hand. 128 ^v : closer black hand of more gothic look (still written above line). Changes of ink but not certainly of hand.	<i>Capitula</i> . Title (R rustic caps.) Initials (G/R plain/ MBS/fancy A/ 'jigsaw'). Rubricated rustic caps. R expl./incipit. IOT caps. Sermon nos. in upper margin of rectos. Yellow 'rubrication'.	A16.142? MC. Inscription (s. xv). ²³
LP 1229 (nos. 14, 15). ²⁴	2 bifolia: <i>De ritibus ecclesiae in cena domini</i> (imperf.).	Pg: 241 x 173. WA: c.190 x 100.	29 llpp; DP; ATL; 1 st , 2 nd , penultimate, last lines extend; prickings.	Script very rounded, sits above ruled line.	Initials, R/G. Sections marked by plain plus IOT caps. TC.	LP 372 link.
Rawl. A.374.	Augustine, <i>De consensu evangelistarum</i> .	Pg: 275 x 170. WA: 204 x 114.	30 llpp; DP; usual ruling extensions	Shares scribe with LP 189 and OTC 33.	Fine, large initials. F. 1: large initials R/B/G/silver/gilt with serpents/foilage. Elsewhere: occasional coloured capitals.	A16.178
OCCC 139	Cassiodorus; Augustine; Bachiarus; Fulgentius.	Pg: 220-5 x 150. WA: 160 x 85-90. Articles begin on new quires.	27 llpp; DP (pencil from 21 ^r but this is confined to art 1); ATL; usual ruling extensions Prickings.	Art 1: Black ink, not 'classic' Llanthony hand that is usually in brown ink, but similar to 397. Quality varies. Art. 2 prob. by different hand; not as smooth/rounded as 'classic' Llanthony hand.	Rubrics. Initials (G; plain/R interior flourishing/'boss with flourish' style/MBS/ 'boss-&-fringe'/ scalloped). IOT caps. TC. Occasional rubricated paraph-mark/letter. R/ IOT explicit. Instructions to rubricator.	Numbering. A16.218(?). <i>Ex dono</i> H. Parry (1618).
OCCC 194	Augustine.	Pg: 225-30 x 145. WA: c.160 x 98.	27 llpp; DP; ATL; usual ruling extensions Prickings.	Not 'classic' Llanthony hand of LP 365, but similar. Black ink. Slightly above ruled lines. Contains book-marks.	Rubrics. Initials (R &/or G, flourished/ 'fringed'/ MBS). IOT/rubricated caps. Text-block: plain G/R initials; TC.	A16.186. <i>Ex dono</i> H. Parry (1618).

²² *Capitula* are ruled in pencil, which accords with the presence of a slightly later hand.

²³ 219^v (otherwise blank): [flourish] *Johannes Glowcel Qui est vir homo et honestus* (s. xv).

²⁴ Bill believed these leaves to be from LP 372 (above) (see handlist below).

OTC 33 Plates XII- XIII and frontis- piece.	Jerome, <i>Comm. on Matthew.</i>	Pg: 306 x 200; WA: 214 x 120.	32lpp; DP; ATL; usual ruling extensions prickings.	Black ink. Well- written. One scribe. Similar to hand of LP 365 (120-228). Shares scribe with LP 189/Rawl. A.374. Quire sigs.	Rubrics (B/R/G). Initials (arabesque [Winch- combe]/jigsaw) (G/B/R). ²⁵ TC. Instructions to rubricator. Bk-no. in upper margin. NM.	A16.120; Baber <i>ex dono.</i>
OTC 40	Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia</i> (bks XI- XXII)	Pg: 333 x 235. WA: 258 x 156.	38 lpp; double cols. DP/ crayon; usual ruling extensions	Llanthony-type hand. 4 scribes. Catchwords.	Initials (R/once P) (arabesque). NM.	Numbering. A16.44 (?); MC. Baber <i>ex dono.</i>
OTC 51	Augustine; Paschasius Radbertus; Ambrose; Lanfranc; Guitmond of Aversa.	Pg: 240 x 155. WA: c.190 x 112.	32/35/34 lpp. DP; ATL; usual ruling extensions Prickings.	Text 1: not particularly Llanthony-like. 2: redolent of charter hand. 3, 11: like Llanthony hand: rounded but smaller than other examples; written closely (as OCCC 194).	Rubrics. Initials (R/G/B; plain/internal decoration/'corona' ²⁶ / scalloped/boss styles). IOT/rubricated caps. IOT/R inc/expls. R Roman numeral chapter nos. <i>Capitula</i> . Authorities cited.	A16.164. Baber's <i>ex dono</i> 1633.

These books contain texts of the same general type, whose authors were venerable by the time that these copies were made, yet highly relevant to the prevailing intellectual and spiritual currents and ideals of the earlier twelfth century. They are exactly the texts that a new foundation would need to acquire as a matter of priority.²⁷ The Fathers of the church, the greatest spiritual authorities, are fairly well represented, but with varying degrees of frequency.²⁸ Several authors from the patristic period also appear.²⁹ Paschasius Radbertus is the only evidence here of Llanthony's acquaintance with Carolingian scholarship, and Guitmond of Aversa with that of the eleventh century.³⁰ In addition to this assembly of the scholarship of revered authors of earlier ages, some authors broadly contemporary with the manuscripts in which they are contained are present. The impact of the Cistercians, a

²⁵ Coates notes that a type of decorated initial found in twelfth-century MSS of Reading provenance, with arabesque scrollwork close to earlier Norman MSS, appears in books from Llanthony and Cirencester, and cites that in OTC 33 f. 53^v as an example (*Reading*, p. 48) (see the frontispiece).

²⁶ i.e. its motif resembles an inverted semi-circle with a dot in its middle.

²⁷ Alongside the requisite liturgical texts, which class of material is, however, barely represented here.

²⁸ As usual, Augustine of Hippo is the author whose work is best-represented: LP 365 (fos. 120-228); LP 372 (fos. 42-82^v); Rawl. A.374; OCCC 139; OCCC 194; OTC 51. Gregory the Great is represented by portions of the *Moralia in Iob* (LP 56; OTC 40); Ambrose merely by a page-long excerpt from his *De Trinitate* (OTC 51); and Jerome by his *Commentary on Matthew* (OTC 33). John Cassian is the only Eastern Father whose work is extant in this group (LP 101, *Collationes* - a standard guide to communal living).

²⁹ Cassiodorus, Bacharius, Fulgentius of Ruspe (OCCC 139).

³⁰ Paschasius (d. c. 860), *De sacramentis* and *Epistola ad Fredugardum*, and Guitmond (d. 1090 x 95), *De ueritate corporis et sanguinis Christi*, are found in OTC 51.

recently evolved order, is visible here. Its most distinguished member, Bernard of Clairvaux, is represented by his commentary *super cantica canticorum* (LP 452) and an eminent English Cistercian, Ailred of Rievaulx, by his *De speculo caritatis*.³¹ A single text by the first Norman archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc of Bec, also survives.³² Hugh of S.-Victor's (d.1141), *De Sacramentis* embodies the scholarship of the Augustinian order itself.³³ The exceptions to the theological nature of this group are three fragmentary liturgical texts. The first is from a treatise on the significance of rites and observances of the church on Holy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday.³⁴ That in OTC 33 (a bifolium used as a pastedown) is contemporary with this group of books. The third, twelfth-century leaves from a directory of services, survives as flyleaves in LP 189. The paucity of liturgical texts in this group accords with the general pattern for them to be under-represented in the surviving material.

Altogether, this is a conservative collection of basic works, entirely in keeping with the needs of a new library. Even though some are by contemporary authors, they are nonetheless traditional in nature. They were obtained at quite an early stage in the establishment of Llanthony's collection, when, seemingly, it had by no means yet obtained a full complement of the older 'classics'. However, Llanthony may still not, of course, have exercised much choice concerning the texts that it acquired. Although the move to Gloucester opened up new avenues of exemplars and facilitated the expansion of the library that, the extant manuscripts suggest, began at this time, this growth may well have depended on whatever exemplars Llanthony could borrow during a tumultuous period. An interest in books and in matching Llanthony's book provision to its new circumstances must also have played a part in the increased acquisitions of this time.

In combination, these books' external features - codicology, palaeography and decoration - give an impression of overall coherence between the members of the group.³⁵ This should not be taken to imply that these volumes bear no relation to the other books of Llanthony

³¹ LP 397 (fos. 1^v-104). The inclusion of such contemporary works shows that these manuscripts cannot be earlier than the second quarter of the twelfth century.

³² OTC 51 holds his *De corpore et sanguine domini* ... (fos. 53^r-75^v).

³³ LP 189.

³⁴ LP 1229 (nos. 14, 15). Bill, *Catalogue*, lists several other MSS in which this text also occurs: Salisbury 135 (s. xi^{ex}, Salisbury), Exeter Cathedral 3525 (s. xiiⁱⁿ, written in England), Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 101 (s. xii, Weingarten Abbey, Germany), BL, Cotton Nero A.i. (fos. 70-177 [text at fos. 106-108^v], associated with Wulfstan of York and Worcester [d. 1023] who spent more time at the latter). It is interesting, in view of what is known about the circulation of texts between religious communities in western England, that there are two further copies with a provenance there.

³⁵ There are some minor points of discrepancy, most noticeably in LP 101 (about which more below).

provenance surviving from this period and from the periods immediately preceding and following it – these volumes did not exist in a vacuum.³⁶ Points of similarity are entirely understandable because of the possible continuity of the personnel involved in book production across the earlier twelfth century. There are also palaeographical and decorative similarities between this group of manuscripts and books and documents of non-Llanthony provenance and (as far as is known) origin. We now examine the significance of these features.

These volumes are alike codicologically. They are, on the whole, of a similar page size, with a core group of seven books the height of whose pages is within twenty-five millimetres of each other.³⁷ The width of their pages is also similar.³⁸ The exceptions are LP 56 which, at c.357 x c.210 mm, is considerably larger than these books and, at the other end of the scale, LP 452, which is significantly shorter (190 x 140 mm).³⁹ It is now impossible to tell how big the books originally were: however, they are all quite generously proportioned, with fairly well spaced text surrounded by reasonable margins (often employed for correction and annotation), which suggests that their makers were not trying to ration parchment and thereby economise on the costs of production.⁴⁰

All of these books are ruled in dry point and their text is set out in long lines.⁴¹ The pattern of ruling is also consistent – in all but one, the first, third, ante-penultimate and last ruled lines extend across the margins of the page to meet the prickings which guide the ruling of the text-block.⁴² In all books also, the text begins above the top ruled line on the page.⁴³

³⁶ Cf. the link with styles of initial found in books from the pre-1130 group (see further below).

³⁷ LP MSS 365 (fos. 120-228); 1229 (nos. 14, 15); 372 (fos. 42-82^v); OTC 51; LP 397 (fos. 1^v-104); OCCC 194; OCCC 139.

³⁸ Ranging from 173 mm (LP 1229 [nos. 14, 15]) to 145 mm (OCCC 194). Of course, these measurements do not take into account the varying amounts by which the books have been trimmed over the years.

³⁹ OTC 40 is the second-largest of these books: the *Moralia*, an exceptionally long text, was generally large format. LP 101 and 189, OTC 33 and Rawl. A.374 are slightly larger than the main group.

⁴⁰ The prickings used to guide the ruled lines during the preparation of the parchment are, to varying degrees, still visible. There is evidence of trimming, but the continued presence of prickings means that this was not excessive.

⁴¹ Apart from LP 101 (ruled in DP with some pencil) and OCCC 139 (DP with pencil for its first text). OTC 40 is the only book in double columns and is ruled in DP/crayon.

⁴² This was, however, a common pattern. The exception is LP 1229 (nos. 14, 15).

⁴³ This is usual in books dating from pre c.1220.

The parchment of these books accords with their overall nature. It is not of the highest standard, but nor is it execrable. It fluctuates in thickness and colour, and has various marks, holes and edge-cuts.⁴⁴ However, the text-block area is generally sound.

The factor which most obviously links these books is a shared style of script. The script in question is fairly large and rounded and typically sits a little above the ruled line; it is usually written in brown ink. LP 365 (fos. 120-228) perhaps contains the 'best' example of this type of script – it is clear, regular and well-formed.⁴⁵ One scribe worked on three of the books in this group - LP 189, OTC 33 and Rawl. A.374.⁴⁶ Other members of the group may also share a scribe: for example, the hand of LP 365 (fos. 120-228) is very like that of LP 397 (fos. 1^v-104).⁴⁷ Other scribes were probably also involved, though it is difficult to isolate individual hands.⁴⁸ The level of coherence in this script may be an interesting reflection on the workings of Llanthony's 'scriptorium' in the generation following its move to Gloucester. It suggests production in a disciplined environment - a scriptorium in the sense of an organised and dedicated group which approached (or was directed to approach) book production in a fairly ordered way, presumably under the supervision of someone who had a clear idea of the 'look' of the books that were to be produced. It suggests that these scribes were *in situ* at Llanthony or nearby during the period of production.

These books are not elaborately embellished.⁴⁹ Nor is their decoration as detailed or complex as that in some broadly contemporary 'library' books from other communities. In fact, it might be most precisely described as 'articulation', since it makes the text easier to navigate by highlighting textual divisions and indicating their content, rather than ornamenting it as such. The range of methods used is not inherently unusual or remarkable

⁴⁴ The parchment of a couple of these books may have suffered from damage post-construction (e.g. the final pages of LP 365 (fos. 120-228) have been messily trimmed; in LP 397 all of the folios are crinkly and many are stained and damaged).

⁴⁵ Plate X.

⁴⁶ Ker, *English MSS*, p. x; J.J.G. Alexander and E. Temple, *Illuminated MSS in Oxford College Libraries, the University Archives and the Taylor Institution* (Oxford, 1985), no. 50. Ker wondered whether this scribe was a professional, but did not present any evidence to support this. However, it seems perfectly feasible for one canon or monastic scribe to have worked on more than one of these books. Plate XII.

⁴⁷ Plates X and XI.

⁴⁸ Sometimes in these books there is a change in the aspect of the script (e.g. in its size) which might suggest that a new scribe has taken over; however, on close inspection, the actual form of the letters has often altered little or not at all, thus the circumstances of production, rather than the scribe himself, may have changed. Occasionally, other types of hand appear (e.g. OTC 40 has a very short stint by a hand reminiscent of Worcester).

⁴⁹ Although the first folio of Rawl. A.374 is generously embellished, with particularly large initials in which silver and gilt as well as colours are employed and which are decorated with serpents and foliage.

– it includes rubrics; initials of differing sizes, colours and elaborateness which signify textual divisions of varying importance; display capitals; *capitula*; book-numbers in the upper margin or text-block; and ‘thickened’ ink initials which break up the text-block. A consistent palette is used: most commonly red and green, but also blue and, very occasionally, yellow.⁵⁰ Running-titles, a far-from-regularly-used feature at this date, are present in four of these books.⁵¹

Perhaps distinctive about these books are some of the styles in which the initials are embellished. Many initials are plain, particularly those marking lesser textual divisions, but some that are decorated share a common style. Of great interest are points of likeness between the decoration of this group of books and that of books from other west-country communities. ‘Boss-style’ initials are used in these books, as in those considered in the previous chapter.⁵² The ‘minor boss-style’, where the initial and the bosses are low-key, appears in six books.⁵³ The more elaborate form of this style (‘major boss-style’) appears in two of these books.⁵⁴ This is certainly not restricted to manuscripts of Llanthony provenance: it strongly resembles Thomson’s ‘Worcester flat-colour’ style, common in Worcester manuscripts of s. xii¹ and, in particular, a motif popular at Worcester over a long period of time. The example of the ‘major boss-style’ motif that Thomson reproduces corresponds closely to initials found in OTC 51.⁵⁵ The boss-style is used in further permutations in OCCC 139 – with the addition of flourishes (f. 55^r) and in conjunction with the ‘fringed’ style that will be discussed below (f. 110^v). Thomson’s ‘Winchcombe flat-colour’ initial style is also found in several of these Llanthony books.⁵⁶ The appearance of these styles of initial in this group of Llanthony books places them firmly in a west-country decorative context. That both ‘minor’ and ‘major boss-style’ initials are

⁵⁰ LP 101 (discussed below) and OTC 40 are exceptions, as they have purple initials, whilst the artist of Rawl. A.374 used silver and gilt in the opening initials of that MS.

⁵¹ LP 189 (book-number written across top of opening); LP 397 (fos. 1^v-104) (book-number on recto openings); LP 452 (number of sermon in upper margin of rectos); OTC 33 (book-number in upper margin). LP 56 and OTC 40 contain running-titles by Morgan of Carmarthen (s. xv).

⁵² Where they and their scope were described (pp. 36-7).

⁵³ LP MSS 365 (fos. 120-228) (fos. 120^r, 136^r, 159^r, 178^v, 205^r); 397 (f. 4^v); 452 (e.g. f. 8^v); OCCC 139 (fos. 73^r, 101^r); OCCC 194 (f. 50^r); OTC 51 (f. 1^r). Cf. Plates XI, XVI, XXI.

⁵⁴ LP 397 (fos. 1^v-104) (f. 1^v) and OTC 51 (fos. 21^r, 30^v, 31^v, 87^v and the tail of the initial on 13^r). Plate XX.

⁵⁵ ‘Minor MS Decoration’, fig. 7a. Thomson excludes the possibility of professional scribes executing this sort of minor decoration (*ibid.*, pp. 19-20).

⁵⁶ Most clearly in OTC 33 (fos. 53^v and 80^r) (frontispiece and plate XIII), which are the only Llanthony examples to include the dots that Thomson notes as characteristic of this style. Examples are also found in LP 56, OTC 51 and LP 365 (fos. 120-228). Most MSS containing this style were made at Winchcombe, but it may have been widely influential in the area: Thomson records instances in MSS from, *inter alia*, Gloucester and Eynsham (‘Minor MS Decoration’, pp. 25-6, fig. 5b). Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, in their entry for the Tewkesbury book HCL P.IV.6 (s. xii¹) note that it contains arabesque initials similar to work from Winchcombe and Llanthony (citing OTC 33, f. 53^v: see frontispiece) (p. 92).

also found in pre-1130 books of Llanthony Prima provenance suggests continuity in the community's book production over some years.⁵⁷

Six books in this group contain initials in what I have designated the 'Llanthony fringed style'. This embellishes the interior of a curved letter and takes the form of scalloping around the inner edge of the letter, inside which is fringing accompanied by a row of small dots. The work is precisely executed and homogenous.⁵⁸ These initials are never especially large, but are quite detailed by the standard of these books. I have as yet found no example of this style of initial outside books from Llanthony,⁵⁹ suggesting that they may be a distinctive Llanthony feature. A style similar to, but less developed-looking than, this Llanthony fringed style, featuring rough scalloping around the interior of a curved letter but no dots, appears in one book of this group and one from the pre-1130 group.⁶⁰ Various other motifs are also common to more than one book in this 'Llanthony hand' group.

What are the implications of these scribal and decorative features for the origin of the books in this group? The script type and hands that they share favour a common origin. However, this style of script alone is not diagnostic of Llanthony manufacture, as a related type of hand appears in books from other west-country communities.⁶¹ Similarly, the 'major boss-style' motif, whilst popular at Worcester, does not necessarily indicate that these Llanthony books were produced there.⁶² Certainly, these books' palaeography does

⁵⁷ 'Minor boss-style' initials appear in LP 173 (fos. 223-32) (1090-1110; chapter 2) and in Royal 8 D.viii and LP 173 (fos. 157-222) (pre-1130 group of MSS; chapter 3). LP 173 (fos. 157-222) and LP 365 (i, ii, 1-119) (pre-1130 group) have major boss-style initials.

⁵⁸ LP 101 (fos. 74^r, 121^v), LP 372 (fos. 42-82^v) (at f. 43^r), LP 397 (fos. 1^v-104) (at fos. 40^r, 53^v, 79^r), OCCC 194 (f. 2^v), OTC 51. An initial in OCCC 139 (f. 110^v) is very similar to these but lacks the dots, as does one in OQC 309 (s. xii^{3/4}) (plate XVII). A particular variation of the 'Llanthony fringed style', in which the dots are replaced by small circles, appears in three Llanthony books of s. xii^{med-2} (LP MSS 119 and 164, and OQC 309 [respectively plates XXIII, XIX, XVII]), two of which are almost certainly in-house products (these MSS are discussed in the next chapter).

⁵⁹ However, *vide* the discussion of LP 164 in the following chapter. Reading Abbey's MSS contain a fringed style, but it is different (Coates, *Reading*, pls. 3, 4). Initials in Bodl. Arch. Selden B.16 (f. 73) (A.G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.435-1600 in Oxford Libraries* [henceforth *DDO*], 2 vols., [Oxford, 1984], II, pl. 48) from Malmesbury (1129) and Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 25 (f. 1^v) (s. xiiⁱⁿ, ?Normandy; Chichester) (Gameson, *MENE*, pl. 15) resemble the 'Llanthony fringed style', but they lack the dots and their execution is far less refined.

⁶⁰ See OTC 51 (fos. 13^r, 14^v, 43^v); similar initials are found in LP 365 (fos. i, ii, 1-119) (fos. 9^r, 59^r, 68^v).

⁶¹ As noted by Ker, *English MSS*, p. 33, citing a Pershore charter (BL, Harley Ch. 50.B.22), Oxford, Bodl. Hatton 116 (Worcester), 'and...MSS from Llanthony'. The Pershore charter (*tempus* Henry I) is illustrated in *Facsimiles of Royal and Other Charters in the British Museum*, ed. G.F. Warner and H.J. Ellis (London, 1903), no. 5. Hatton 116 is a twelfth-century Worcester product, with initials in 'the local style' (Thomson, *Worcester*, pp. xxii, xxiv; Ker, *Cat. Anglo-Saxon*, no. 333). Its script is very large and rounded; as in these Llanthony books it sits well above the ruled line, but diverges from them by using the Tironian *et*.

⁶² Variants of it are found in books from elsewhere, particularly Winchcombe (Thomson, 'Minor MS Decoration', pp. 27-8).

not suggest a Worcester origin. They do not resemble the products of other nearby scriptoria sufficiently strongly to be attributed to them. It seems unlikely that so many books were all produced elsewhere and subsequently acquired by Llanthony. Far more likely is the absorption at Llanthony Secunda, within a short time of its establishment, of local influences in book production. How such influences permeated Llanthony is unknown. A possible conduit was any book lent as an exemplar by local houses, whose style was then imitated. Another is the presence at Llanthony Secunda of scribes trained in the local area (either borrowed or who had joined Llanthony) who were accustomed to writing in this style and brought it with them to the new house. Perhaps only one such individual would have been necessary if he became the director of production at Llanthony Secunda.⁶³ The homogeneity of this group of Llanthony books (including a feature, the 'Llanthony fringed' initial, which seems particular to Llanthony), a secure twelfth-century Llanthony provenance for one of them (LP 189) and good later medieval Llanthony Secunda provenances for the others, plus the fact that Llanthony may already have had experience of making its own books, favours their production in-house at Llanthony Secunda.

One member of this group, LP 101, merits particular attention because as well as writing in the 'Llanthony hand' style, Thomson has suggested that it holds writing in a style found in books from Gloucester Abbey.⁶⁴ Thomson suggests that '...there is a possibility, as yet largely untested, that Gloucester made books for the nearby Augustinian house of Llanthony, founded in 1136'.⁶⁵ He cites LP 101 as evidence for this, as it contains writing in (his phraseology may be significant) 'Gloucester style'.⁶⁶ In his list of early Gloucester manuscripts, Thomson judges LP 101 a 'possible attribution' to that house based on the appearance of a 'Gloucester-style hand' which wrote folios 56^r-73^v [18 fos.], 75^r-78^v [4 fos.] and 96^r-103^v [8 fos.] in the second quarter of the twelfth century.⁶⁷ However, these are short stints in a book that contains 170 pages overall and are more than balanced by stints of writing in the 'Llanthony' hand.⁶⁸

The rounded 'Llanthony' hand is easy to discern in this manuscript. It writes fos. 74^{r-v}, 78^v-95^v, 104^r-121^r, 162^{r-v} and 170^r, short but clearly distinguishable stints (constituting

⁶³ A complicated example of local scribal influence is found in LP 101 (discussed below).

⁶⁴ 'Gloucester', pp. 3-26 at n.14.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5 and n. 14.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁶⁸ James, *Catalogue*, comments that LP 101 contains a hand very like (but, note, not the same as) the one common in Llanthony books of this time.

37.5 folios in total). One characteristic of this hand, found across the books in which it is contained, is that its script rests a couple of millimetres above the ruled line. It is also very rounded and regular (the minims are always the same height) and employs quite a lot of hair-strokes, and is larger than the 'Gloucester' hand(s) in this book. The script of the remainder of the book is certainly not the characteristic 'Llanthony' style currently under consideration and is, perhaps significantly, much closer to the 'Gloucester' hand. The first 73 folios, before the first appearance of the 'Llanthony' hand, are seemingly written by two very similar hands.

The appearance in one book of types of script associated with Llanthony Secunda and Gloucester Abbey, separate but nearby religious communities, is significant when considering how the establishment of Llanthony Secunda in Gloucester might have affected Llanthony's book provision. The relationship between the parts of LP 101 that are written in a Llanthony-type hand and those written in a Gloucester-type hand can be summarised in tabular form:

Folios	Scribe	Quires	Rubricator	Decorative style.
1-24 ^r	Gloucs. hand 1	I, II, III, and 1 st pg. of IV.	'Gloucs.' Rubricator. ⁶⁹	Plain initials R/G/P ⁷⁰ /B (not the normal but light and bright – powder B).
24 ^r (halfway down)-56 ^r	Gloucs. hand 2	1st pg of q. IV (continuing directly from Gloucs. 1)-end of q. VII.li	'Gloucs.' rubricator	Plain initials (R/G/P/B)
56 ^r -73 ^v	Gloucs. hand 1	Beg. of q. VIII – end of q. IX.	'Gloucs.' rubricator.	Plain initials (R/G/P/B)
74 ^{r-v}	Llanthony hand	Beg. q. X and of new text.	'Llanthony' rubricator. ⁷¹	74 ^r : 'Llanthony fringed style' initial (dark G with R fringing) (initials not previously flourished). 74 ^v : capital in Y.
75 ^r -78 ^v	Gloucs. hand 1.	Rest of q. X (one folio removed betw. 78 and 79)	No rubrics	
78 ^v -95 ^v	Llanthony hand	Last pg. of q. X and q. XI, XII, 1 st fol. of q. XIII, ending with a two-word run-over.	78 ^v not in Llanthony hand until last few lines, which are explicit and <i>capitula</i> - these are by the same rubricator as 79 ^r e.g. the 'Llanthony' hand has begun his stint at the bottom of Gloucs. pg.	Plain initials in R/Y/G.
96 ^r -103 ^v	Gloucs. hand 1	Rest of q. XIII, 1 st	Gloucs. rubricator	Plain capitals (powder

⁶⁹ i.e. the rubrics are written in lower-case letters and in a particular hand.

⁷⁰ Denotes purple.

⁷¹ i.e. the rubric employs capitals and a particular type of capital *a* (triangle-shaped with a small tail).

		two fos. of q. XIV.		B/G/R/P).
104 ^r -121 ^r	Llanthony hand	Rest of q. XIV, q. XV, 1 st pg. of q. XVI.	Llanthony rubricator.	121 ^r : 'Llanthony fringed style' initial (G with R fringing). G/Y/R initials.
121 ^v -161 ^v	Gloucs. hand 1.	Rest of q. XVI; q. XVII-XX, 1 st f. q. XXI (end of a section).	Llanthony rubricator	R/Y/G plain initials.
162 ^{r-v}	Llanthony hand	2 nd f. of q. XXI (over-runs by 3 ^{1/2} lines at base of 162 ^v). ⁷²	Llanthony rubricator	R/G plain initials.
163 ^r -169 ^v ⁷³	Gloucs. hand 1	Rest of q. XXI; 1 st 3 fos. of q. XXII.	No rubrics	G/R/P/mid-B/powder-B initials.
170 ^r	Llanthony hand	q. XXII	Prob. Llanthony rubricator	One plain R capital
170 ^v	Entirely different hand (slightly later?).	q. XXII	Completely different hand.	Plain R initials.

As this shows, the 'Llanthony' and 'Gloucester' sections of the book are not all physically separate. On several occasions, the 'Llanthony' and 'Gloucester' hands write in the same quire.⁷⁴ The relationship between the work of these scribes is, therefore, close and raises the possibility of collaboration between Llanthony Secunda and Gloucester Abbey. We know that this book was produced shortly after the relocation of part of the Llanthony community to Gloucester, when Llanthony Secunda was in a better position to take responsibility for the provision of texts for itself (and for Llanthony Prima?) and when texts needed to be amassed with celerity. In such circumstances, collaboration between scribes was a practical way of quickening production. However, this is not carried to its most logical conclusion in LP 101, as the division of work is not equal: if one accepts that everything not in the 'Llanthony'-style hand is in one or more 'Gloucester' hands, the 'Llanthony' scribe did not execute an equal share of work. On a couple of occasions, the different hands are to be found on the recto and verso of the same folio and their relationship is once closer than this: both the 'Llanthony'- and 'Gloucester'-style hands write on f. 78^v. The 'Llanthony' hand often writes only odd folios, usually at the beginning or end of a quire.⁷⁵ The division of scribal stints seems unrelated to the beginning of a new text: the 'Llanthony' scribe wrote the first pages of both the second (f.

⁷² As though there was a quota of text to be fitted on that page.

⁷³ Thomson ('Gloucester', p. 21) does not consider that the Gloucester-style hand appears before f. 56^r or after f. 103^v, casting doubt on my suggestion that fos. 56^r-73^v are by the same hand as the earliest part of the book. However, James, *Catalogue*, considers that fos. 163-9 'appear' to be in his first hand (i.e. the 'Gloucester' hand: the 'Llanthony' hand is his second hand), according with my opinion. All reckonings, it seems, allow for the involvement of more than two scribes; a discrepancy arises regarding for which parts those scribes were responsible.

⁷⁴ Quire 10 sees the Gloucester hand sandwiched between two short stints of the Llanthony hand; see also q. XIII, XIV, XVI, XXI, XXII.

⁷⁵ LP 101 is distinctive because the 'Llanthony hand' is responsible for such short stints of writing in it. In the other books in which it appears, it is generally responsible for a whole text.

74^v) and third (f. 121^r) texts in this book before ceding to the 'Gloucester' scribe. The above table also demonstrates that, for the majority of the book (until f. 121^r), the 'Llanthony' and 'Gloucester' scribal stints each appear in conjunction with a particular rubricator and initial style. This may suggest that the scribe (or the scriptorium/personnel of a particular house) was responsible for the rubrication and articulation of 'his' parts of the book. After this point, however, only the 'Llanthony' rubricator appears, even when the text is the work of the 'Gloucester' scribe. The same may be said for the style of decoration (with the exception of the stint comprising fos. 163^r-169^v, when the 'Gloucester' hand is accompanied by initials in the colours and style that have appeared in its early stints). The 'Llanthony fringed style' initial, seemingly particular to Llanthony books, appears in LP 101, but only in conjunction with the 'Llanthony' hand.

The possibility that the interweaving of styles of script associated with two geographically close houses came about because Gloucester Abbey lent the newly-founded Llanthony Secunda a scribe to assist in the accumulation of a library seems unfeasible, as this would have been rather an altruistic act by a community which was itself, at that time, working to expand its own library. If a Gloucester monk joined Llanthony Secunda on a permanent basis, one might expect such a skilled scribe to have been employed in more than one book; however, a 'Gloucester'-style hand does not appear in any other Llanthony manuscript.⁷⁶ A further complication is that Thomson suggests that the 'Gloucester'-style hand found in LP 101 is not present in any other Gloucester manuscript that he has examined.⁷⁷ Again, one would expect the work of the proficient 'Gloucester'-style scribe(s) of LP 101 to appear in other Gloucester books.⁷⁸ It is possible to reverse the situation and suggest that the 'Llanthony' scribe was 'seconded' to Gloucester for the production of this book.⁷⁹ A slip inserted between fos. 100 and 101 bears the *capitula* for the portion of text beginning on f. 101^r. The slip is inserted in a 'Gloucester'-hand stint and its script resembles that of the book surrounding it, although it appears to be slightly later and is ruled in pencil. This may suggest that the book's earliest provenance was not

⁷⁶ Bearing in mind, as ever, the certainty of losses in the extant Llanthony corpus. Michael Gullick has not noticed Gloucester influence in any other Llanthony MS that he has examined (Thomson, 'Gloucester', n.14), thus any involvement of a 'Gloucester' scribe at Llanthony Secunda was apparently short-lived. Other possible explanations are that the scribe died shortly after writing LP 101, moved away, returned to Gloucester or subsequently adopted the 'Llanthony' style.

⁷⁷ He lists Gloucester scribes who appear in more than one book, but does not mention the scribe of LP 101 ('Gloucester', p. 8).

⁷⁸ The poor survival rate of survival for Gloucester books allows that his other contributions are lost.

⁷⁹ A precedent for this is set by a colophon in a Mont-St-Michel MS, recording that it was copied (by a known Mont-St-Michel scribe) at Le Mans: R.G. Gameson, 'Les colophons des manuscrits du Mont-Saint-Michel', *Images de la foi: la Bible et les pères de l'Église dans les manuscrits de Clairvaux et du Mont-Saint-Michel* (Paris, 2002), pp. 30-35, p. 34.

Llanthony. A firm conclusion regarding LP 101's origin cannot currently be made; however the book valuably raises the issue of contact between Llanthony Secunda and Gloucester Abbey in the twelfth century.

The amount and type of annotation in these books vary. Some contain types of 'impersonal' correction that is fairly anonymous.⁸⁰ Several examples suggest that these books were corrected soon after their manufacture: to f. 175 of LP 189 is attached a slip containing the text of part XVIII chapter XV in a hand not perceptibly later than the book. In the outer margins of LP 372 (fos. 42-82^v) is added, probably by the main scribe, text that was omitted from the text-block.⁸¹ Similarly, OTC 51 contains marginal annotation in a hand perhaps slightly later than the text and the outer border of f. 109^v contains tiny writing headed *Glosa* in a hand that could be contemporary with the text. In OTC 33, the main scribe (or similar) has corrected the text, as have other contemporary hands. These near-contemporary corrections suggest that the scriptorium was taking care to ensure accuracy: textual quality was not sacrificed in favour of speedy production.⁸² Some books bearing near-contemporary corrections also show evidence of use over a prolonged period of time.⁸³

LP 397 (fos. 1^v-104) bears many instances of correction.⁸⁴ These may reveal something of the processes involved. On its third appearance, the correcting hand (f. 21^v), supplies in the outer margin a phrase missing from the text. On this page, in the lower margin, the words supplied by the correction are repeated in a tiny script. The same happens on f. 23^v: the words of a marginal addition with an insertion mark to indicate its proper place in the text-block are repeated next to it (partially trimmed away) in the same small, scratchy hand that has repeated the marginal addition on f. 21^v. On f. 31^v, the interlinear addition of a

⁸⁰ E.g. text is lined through in LP 56; in LP 452, *Sermo XXIII* has been crossed out entirely (the following sermon is also labelled XXIII: presumably, the scribe mistakenly duplicated a sermon); in OCCC 139, the chapter-numbers were altered in the early stages to read one less than originally, then erased from f. 9^v onwards.

⁸¹ Fos. 53^v-54^r, 60^v.

⁸² This accords with the fact that these volumes are fairly well-written and presented, suggesting that time and effort were invested in their production despite the need for haste.

⁸³ LP 365 (fos. 120-228) has a variety of corrections - some marginal supplies of missing text look near-contemporary (138^v, 141^v, 196^v 203^r, 214^r). A ?slightly later hand has rewritten some text after almost an entire line has been erased: the same hand does this on 193^r and 221^v. A later medieval hand (regular apart from exaggeratedly tall ascenders) has annotated quite frequently from c. f.193 onwards.

⁸⁴ An erasure on 14^v is re-written in a hand which is more open and rounded than the main text-hand and resembles the 'Llanthony' hand. It uses paler brown ink of the sort used by the 'Llanthony' hand in LP 372 and 101. This suggests a contemporary inspection. Further contemporary corrections in the same hand follow on fos. 16^v (the main scribe?); 21^v (missing phrase supplied in outer margin by hand of contemporary appearance); 23^v; 31^v; 32^{r-v}; 33^v; 41^v; 70^r (insertion in the text-block blends in completely with the main text, thus would seem to be same hand as it); 80^v; 99^r.

single word is replicated in the outer margin in the same tiny hand; likewise f. 32^r.⁸⁵ The main correcting hand may be the scribe of the text or one of the 'Llanthony hand' group of scribes. The tiny writing appears to identify what corrections were necessary. The main or a 'Llanthony hand' scribe may have made the actual corrections in order to preserve the homogenous appearance of the page. The fact that, on a couple of occasions, the writing in the tiny hand has been erased or partially trimmed suggests that these tiny notes were intended to be temporary guidance and removed once the formal corrections had been added.

Some of these books are barely annotated⁸⁶ but others do bear the interventions of one or more reader. LP 56 (*Moralia*), for example, contains *nota*-marks and annotation of various sorts.⁸⁷ LP 365 (fos. 120-228) (Augustine) is particularly noteworthy for the number and variety of annotations that it contains. It is the most heavily annotated book in this group and shows evidence of use by several different people. Its annotations take a variety of forms, including numerous pointing fingers (sometimes accompanied by comments on the adjacent text); various creatures, some with pointing fingers; men with pointing fingers; neat pen diagrams; birds; late medieval cursive pencil script; a tiny, neat cursive hand which has written key words from the text at the outer edge of the page; and a particular triangular mark (probably a *nota*-mark rather than an abbreviation) that appears in the outer margins throughout. In OCCC 139 (Cassiodorus/Augustine), someone appears to have been interested enough in the first text (Cassiodorus, *De anima*) to note in the outer margins important words from the text-block (f. 3^r) and to add omitted text (f. 7^v). There is also some later annotation, usually supplying missing words (f. 20^r). On f. 29^r, 1-10 is written in Arabic numerals in the outer margin, as though numbering important points made in the text. OCCC 194 (Augustine) has two features which are suggestive of use: f. 1^r has an interesting content list, seemingly in an early hand, which suggests an attempt to make the volume easier to use,⁸⁸ and there are several pieces of reed, doubtless book-

⁸⁵ The repetition by the tiny hand continues to occur in conjunction with corrections: f. 33^v (tiny note in the outer margin with accompanying addition in the inner margin); f. 41^v (marginal note recording the same word that is inserted interlinearly in the text-block); 70^r (interlinear insertion in the text-block, apparently in the text-hand, accompanied by a corresponding partially-trimmed note in the margin). On 14^v, there is half-erased writing in what appears to be the same tiny hand just above the marginal addition, but it is unclear whether this repeats the words of the addition. On 16^v there is no tiny repetition of the corrector's added word (although this correction comprises only one word and a mark next to it could be the erasure of the tiny hand); likewise 32^v.

⁸⁶ E.g. LP 189; LP 452.

⁸⁷ Marginal pencil faces; marginal annotation and correction in a cursive hand; pencil marks; scribbling and bracketing.

⁸⁸ *H' continentia hui' voluminis. AuG' De anima. De .x. cordis Meditationes s' Aug. It' Questiones orosu ad ipsu.*

marks, lodged between the pages.⁸⁹ The copying of text in the margin in the second half of the twelfth century and the supply of missing words at the turn of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries indicates later interest in the text of OTC 33.

This group of books therefore provides a fascinating insight into how the Llanthony canons may have approached the challenge of book acquisition for a burgeoning community that had greater resources than hitherto. The canons remained conservative in their texts: these manuscripts provide a base of established theological writing, whilst the presence of the work of such twelfth-century giants as Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh of S.-Victor adds a more contemporary dimension. The codicological, palaeographical and decorative similarities between these books collectively argue in favour of a common origin in a disciplined environment which, it is most natural to suggest, was Llanthony Secunda itself. The canons probably already had some experience of book manufacturing at Llanthony Prima and in-house production is likely to have been their chief method of acquisition following the relocation to Gloucester. The apparently disciplined programme of book production that these books represent might be cautiously credited to Priors William of Wycombe (1137-c.1150) and/or Clement (c.1150-??4), both of whom were also authors and would therefore naturally have had a close interest in books and scholarship. These books seem to mark the arrival of Llanthony Secunda into an arena of greater contacts. Ker commented that the Severn valley was ‘we can still dimly realise, one of the great regions of book production in the twelfth century’.⁹⁰ These volumes suggest that Llanthony Secunda had, by one means or another, absorbed the palaeographical and decorative styles current in the region, indicating that it had taken advantage of the new ease of contact with its monastic neighbours. Be that as it may, these books do not represent a stark break with Llanthony’s own past: the appearance of ‘minor’ and ‘major boss-style’ initials in both Llanthony’s pre- and post-1130 books suggests continuity in production over some years and over the foundation of Llanthony Secunda. It is noteworthy that none of these books contains evidence of a connection with Llanthony Prima; however the only twelfth-century *ex libris* therein (LP 189) does not distinguish between the two Llanthony sites. This is significant for the relationship between the two houses at this stage and allows that books were the joint property of both.

⁸⁹ Between fos. 5^v-6^r, 9^v-10^r, 16^v-17^r and 41^v-42^r. Although hard to date, a bookmark seems a valuable indicator of use.

⁹⁰ *English MSS*, p. 7.

Chapter 5

Llanthony Secunda's First Century of Collecting (c.1150-c.1250)

The period that we now consider, c.1150-c.1250, saw the acquisition of many - about ninety - manuscripts. The rate of acquisition was highest between the mid twelfth century and c.1200, from when about three-quarters of this number survive. They reveal that theology continued to dominate Llanthony's collection: holdings of traditional authors were strengthened, whilst modern and scholastic theology was collected throughout this time. The work of Llanthony's own in-house authors forms a significant sub-section within these holdings. Over the course of this hundred-year period, the scope of the collection broadened slightly to encompass non-theological material. The appearance of some books of this time indicates that in-house production continued at Llanthony, yet this cannot account for all of the volumes here considered: acquisition from other sources, including professional production and donation by individuals, was also significant. For the first half of this period, Llanthony remained split across its Welsh and Gloucester sites, but from c.1205 these were independent, with attendant ramifications for 'Llanthony's' books.

As we have seen, works by the Church Fathers formed a major strand of Llanthony's book collection during its first half-century. By the mid twelfth century, Llanthony had acquired a selection of such texts, predominantly by Augustine of Hippo. The acquisitions of c.1150-c.1250 demonstrate that patristics continued to be of key importance.¹ Duplicate copies of such texts are frequent.

The popularity of Augustine of Hippo remained constant between c.1150 and c.1250. He appears in manuscripts of the second quarter and mid twelfth century² and in the second half of the century continues to be the best-

¹ Patristic works were similarly important at Salisbury, half of whose surviving MSS contain them (Webber, *Salisbury*, p. 31).

² LP 336 (*Confessiones*) and LP 337 (*Retractationes, De gratia novi testamenti, De utilitate credendi*) (these two MSS share many features with each other and with the books of the

represented author.³ From the very end of the 1100s survive LP 149⁴ and LP 431 (fos. 1-7, 16-88).⁵ The latter is particularly interesting because it is inscribed *Iste liber est fratris Walteri de Haya. p\ri/oris lant' p\ri/me*.⁶ Augustine continues to be prominent in thirteenth-century manuscripts and the fact that some of the work by him gained at this time was new to Llanthony reflects his prolificacy and the high esteem in which he continued to be held. This is demonstrated by the early-thirteenth-century manuscript Royal 5 B.i, which adds new texts⁷ and duplicates others.⁸ The thirteenth-century book LP 151⁹ brought to Llanthony a second copy of the Rule of St. Augustine, a text of fundamental importance to Augustinian canons.¹⁰

In the first half of the twelfth century, Llanthony had expended considerable effort on acquiring parts of Gregory the Great's hefty *Moralia in Job*.¹¹ After an apparent pause, efforts resumed in the early thirteenth century, when a second copy of the second part (books XI-XXII) of the *Moralia* was acquired: significantly, this was almost certainly copied from Llanthony's own earlier manuscript of the text.¹² Meanwhile, Llanthony acquired Gregory's *Liber Pastoralis*, a book over which some care was subsequently taken,¹³ his

'Llanthony hand' group, indicating a common origin, probably at Llanthony); LP 95 (*De Genesi ad litteram*); OQC 309 (sermons *de verbis Domini et apostoli*).

³ LP 372 (fos. 1-41) (*De fide et symbolo*, extract from *Retractationes*; Pseudo-Augustine, *ad Inquisitiones Ianuarii*; Augustine, *Sermo de periurio*, *Sermo de eo quod dicit apostolus semper gaudete...*, *Sermo exhortatorius ad populum*, *De urbis excidio*). LP 372 (fos. 83-139) (*De diuersis quaestionibus lxxxiii*). LP 215 (*De haeresibus*, *De fide et symbolo*, *Contra Felicianum Arianum de unitate trinitatis*).

⁴ *Enchiridion*, *De paenitentibus sermo*, *In epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus x*; Pseudo-Augustine, *De utilitate agenda paenitentiae*.

⁵ *De spiritu et anima*.

⁶ F. i^v (s. xiii). Plate XXXII. This prior's possible identity will be discussed below.

⁷ *De uera religione*, *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus*, *De natura boni*.

⁸ *De quantitate anime*, *De libero arbitrio*, *De spiritu et anima*; Pseudo-Augustine, *Ad inquisitiones Ianuarii*.

⁹ Fos. 210-335.

¹⁰ Following the copy in Royal 8 D.viii. LP 151 also contains the pseudonymous works *De diligendo deo* and *De Concordia Fratrum* (F. Römer, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*, Band II/1- *Grossbritannien und Irland: Werkverzeichnis* and II/2- *Grossbritannien und Irland: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken* [Vienna, 1972] identifies the latter as *Pauli Constantinopolitani episcopi epistola ad Theodorum Romanum pontificem*: II/2, p. 209).

¹¹ LP 56, OTC 39, 40.

¹² LP 152. Textual collation shows that it was very probably copied from OTC 40 (s. xii^{2/4-med}) and is, therefore, almost certainly an in-house product. Llanthony now had two copies of each of the first and second thirds of the *Moralia*, but none of the final third. A16.44 suggests a complete three-volume set.

¹³ LP 218 (fos. 1-89) (s. xii^{2/4-med}).

Registrum epistolarum and papal decretals,¹⁴ and the final part of his *In Ezechielem*.¹⁵ From after c.1160, a copy of Gregory's *Homiliae XL in Evangelia* bears the fifteenth-century *ex libris* of Llanthony Prima.¹⁶ Acquisition of Ambrose was seemingly focused around the mid twelfth century, from when copies of *super Lucam* and *De penitentia*, *De Jacob et vita beata* and *De paradiso* survive.¹⁷ Post-c.1150, Llanthony acquired Jerome's commentary on the Minor Prophets, *Interpretationes nominum Hebraicorum* and prologue to Job.¹⁸ A thirteenth-century manuscript adds several of Jerome's letters, his *In Libro questionum hebraicarum super genesim*, *Questiones super paralipomenon* and another copy of the *Interpretationes nominum*.¹⁹ The work of another venerable 'Father', Cassiodorus, survives in LP 29, which contains the final part of his monumental commentary on the Psalms.²⁰

The eastern Church Fathers continue not to be strongly represented in the extant corpus. The sole representative thus far is John Cassian's *Collationes* (LP 101; s. xii^{2/4}). From the period now under consideration survive homilies associated with Origen and Bede,²¹ Cyprian's *Epistulae*,²² and Basil's *De doctrina Christianorum*.²³

Theological texts by other respected authors also appear in books dating from c.1150 onwards. Earlier English scholarship is represented by Bede's commentary on Mark,²⁴ the commentaries of Bede and Alcuin on Genesis,²⁵ and

¹⁴ LP 345 (fos. 97-222) (s. xii^{med}), which also contains the decretals of Pope Urban.

¹⁵ LP 431 (fos. 161-82) (s. xii^{ex}).

¹⁶ LP 96 (fos. 113-244).

¹⁷ LP 146; CUL, Dd.10.25.

¹⁸ OTC 69; LP 389; LP 360 (fos. 1-118).

¹⁹ LP 356 (fos. 125-75). Llanthony also obtained Jerome's pseudonymous works: *De membris domini* (LP 451 [fos. 83-192]; CUL, Dd.10.25 [c.1160]); *Explanatio fidei* (ep. supp. 16) (LP 215) and *De XII Doctoribus* (ep. supp. 57) (HCL P.iv.14 [1237 AD]). Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ. 194 (s. xii^{med/3/4}) (Jerome, Rufinus, Athanasius etc.) has been tentatively attributed to Llanthony, but seems more likely to be from Reading (*vide* its entry in the handlist).

²⁰ The companion volumes are seemingly lost (cf. A16.54).

²¹ LP 145 (fos. 257-64).

²² LP 106. Gloucester Abbey also owned a copy of this text (Bodley 210; s. xii^{2/4}).

²³ LP 378 (fos. 1-56). LP 442 (s. xii) may be from Llanthony and contains a collection of John Chrysostom's homilies also found in books from, *inter alia*, Cirencester (HCL O.V.14, s.xii^{med}) and with Hereford connections (HCL O.III.8, s. xii^{med}) (Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, p. 20).

²⁴ LP 147.

²⁵ LP 148.

Alcuin's *De uirtutibus et uitiis*.²⁶ A copy of Claudius of Turin's commentary on Matthew also survives.²⁷ A book associated with Llanthony Prima contains Isidore of Seville's *De lapsis* and *De summo bono*.²⁸ CUL, Dd.10.25 (c.1160) adds Isidore's *De differentiis* and an extract from his *Etymologiae*, plus several works by Prosper of Aquitaine.²⁹ The copy of Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae* in LP 138 duplicates that in the early-twelfth-century Llanthony book Bodley 839. LP 380 (fos. 121-228) contains a collection of works relating to the running of the church.³⁰

Llanthony acquired in this period works by recent and contemporary authors, maintaining interests apparent in the early collection. Thus Bernard of Clairvaux continues to feature prominently: a manuscript of the second half of the twelfth century contains his *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, *De amando deo* and *De arte amoris*,³¹ he is further represented in a collection of sermons and *themata*.³² Late in the century, Llanthony acquired his *Libro de dispensatione et precepto* bound with Anselm of Canterbury's *Proslogion*.³³ LP 161 adds a second copy of Bernard's commentary *super Cantica canticorum*, whilst two Bernardine texts new to Llanthony, *De Consideratione* and *De diligendo Deo*, survive in thirteenth-century volumes.³⁴ LP 356 brought five further works of Anselm of Canterbury to Llanthony.³⁵ The community continued to collect the work of Hugh of S.-Victor: his *De institutione nouiciorum* was popular, surviving in three copies of this period.³⁶ LP 397 (fos.105-128^v) (s. xii^{2/4}) contains Hugh's *De modo orandi* and Royal 5 B.i (s. xiiiⁱⁿ) his *Soliloquium de arrha anime* and *De*

²⁶ LP 378 (fos. 1-56).

²⁷ BL, Royal 2 C.x.

²⁸ LP 380 (fos. 1-120). The MS also holds Bede *super Mulierem fortem* (i.e. the final part of his *Commentary on Proverbs*).

²⁹ *Epistula ad Rufinum de gratia et libero arbitrio*, *Liber responsionum*, *Responsiones*, *Responsiones contra Gallos*.

³⁰ LP 380 (fos. 121-228): Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*; Ivo of Chartres, *De ecclesiasticis sacramentis*; *Ordo officiorum qui agitur in ecclesia Romana*; Amalarius of Metz, *Liber officialis*.

³¹ LP 451 (fos. 83-192).

³² The first of which is his *Sermo 3 in dominica palmarum* (LP 408 [fos. 20-141]).

³³ LP 431 (fos. 161-82).

³⁴ Respectively LP 437 (fos. 43-73), heavy use of which is suggested by numerous *nota*-marks, and 151 (fos. 210-335). LP 151 also contains Pseudo-Bernard, *Planctus Mariae* (extracted from Ogier of Locedio's *De Laudibus sanctae Dei genitricis*).

³⁵ LP 356 (fos. 176-283): *Cur deus homo*, *De conceptu uirginali et de originali peccato*, *Monologion*, *Proslogion*, *Contra insipientes*.

³⁶ LP 397 (fos. 105-128) (s. xii^{2/4}); LP 149 (s. xii/xiii); LP 151 (fos. 210-335) (s. xiii¹).

operibus trium dierum.³⁷ Augustinian scholarship is further represented by Richard of S.-Victor on Ezechiel and *De statu interioris hominis post lapsum*.³⁸

Authors hitherto un-represented in the surviving Llanthony corpus are also found in manuscripts of c.1150-c.1250. LP 391 (s. xii^{2/4-med}) and LP 165 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ) contain the sermons of Geoffrey Babio.³⁹ From c.1200 survives Stephen Langton (1155-1228) *super Ysaïam*.⁴⁰ The early-thirteenth-century book Cotton, Appendix xx contains the Augustinian Hugh of Fouilloy's *De clauastro animae*, an allegorical treatise on monastic spirituality.⁴¹ A rare text, the *De homine assumpto* of John of Cornwall (d. post-1179), is found in LP 122 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ); Llanthony had a second copy of this work in a later thirteenth century manuscript.⁴² Also from c.1200 are an important book containing the only extant copy of William de Montibus's (d.1213) *Distinctiones*, and a copy of his *De tropis S. Scripturae*.⁴³ The exact identity and dates of Richard of Wetheringsett are unclear, but as he died in the thirteenth century Llanthony's copy of his *Summa Qui bene praesunt* is an early witness to this text.⁴⁴ Another newcomer is the Cistercian Alan of Lille. Llanthony's copy of his *Anticlaudianus* is of the mid thirteenth century.⁴⁵ The popularity of this complicated text indicates that the priory was partaking in wider intellectual trends, albeit perhaps a little tardily.⁴⁶ These examples suggest that Llanthony was sometimes adept at acquiring contemporary texts within a relatively short time of their composition - occasionally, perhaps, during the lifetime of the author.

³⁷ Part of the *Didascalion*.

³⁸ Harley 461; LP 451 (fos. 83-192).

³⁹ Archbishop of Bordeaux (d. 1158). The earlier of these copies dates from within his lifetime (plate XVI).

⁴⁰ LP 71 (fos. 119-222).

⁴¹ The author was prior of St-Laurent-au-Bois (St-Laurent-d'Heilly) near Amiens.

⁴² LP 80 (fos. 168^r-244). Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 650, lists only three copies of this work: these two Llanthony MSS, plus BNF, lat. 3477 (s. xiii). Copies are though attested at five significant English foundations (Canterbury St. Augustine's, Durham, Rochester, St. Albans, Austin Friars of York).

⁴³ OCCC 43; LP 122.

⁴⁴ LP 392 (fos. 29^r-55^r) (s. xiiiⁱⁿ). Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1405. A second copy survives from later in the century (LP 398).

⁴⁵ OCCC 59.

⁴⁶ M.T. Gibson and N.F. Palmer note that this copy's text is very poor and incomplete. This MS shares an exemplar with Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 21.2 (English, s. xiiiⁱⁿ) ('Manuscripts of Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, in the British Isles', *Studi Medievali*, 3^a Serie, XXVIII, II (1987), pp. 991-2). The MS may be connected to Llanthony's grammar school (see further below).

Whilst collecting 'traditional' theological expositions in book form, Llanthony also acquired new types of texts that reflected eleventh- and twelfth-century developments in scholasticism, particularly the various forms of glosses.⁴⁷ Possibly as early as the mid twelfth century, the canons acquired four manuscripts containing glossed books of the Bible. A type of book which rose to popularity in the French schools in the earlier twelfth century,⁴⁸ the presence of glossed books in the library of any religious community indicates how up-to-date that house's collection was and how influenced by the scholarship of the schools.⁴⁹ Llanthony's second prior Robert de Béthune was educated in France by Anselm of Laon, who was instrumental in compiling the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and may have provided a conduit via which such texts reached Llanthony.⁵⁰ The four volumes in question (LP MSS 349, 231, 170 and 164) appear to form a coherent group, with a number of common features: uniquely amongst Llanthony's glossed books, they are ruled in dry point; their decoration is unspectacular when compared to Llanthony's other glossed manuscripts; and their script indicates a northern French origin.⁵¹ They contain, respectively, Genesis, Matthew, Psalms and the Pauline Epistles. The last two volumes are of particular interest: the Epistles were one of the first texts to be glossed, possibly by Anselm of Laon himself; they and the Psalter were the only biblical books whose gloss was revised by both Gilbert de la Porrée and Peter Lombard.⁵² LP 164 and 170 both contain Anselm's early gloss and, moreover, share a scribe, suggesting that they are partner volumes of common origin. However, it is

⁴⁷ LP 360 (fos. 1-118) (s. xii-xiii) combines the old and the new: its *notae super Biblia* include tracts by Ivo of Chartres and Peter Comestor.

⁴⁸ See C.F.R. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Book Trade* (Woodbridge, 1984).

⁴⁹ Cultural exchange between England and the continent, increased by the Norman Conquest, was further heightened by the 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance', which supported the rise of the European schools and the proliferation of scholars and scholastic texts in England. R.M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey 1066-1235*, 2 vols., (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 1; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 493, 502.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Life*, ed. Parkinson, p. 112.

⁵¹ James, *Catalogue*, thought that LP 164, 170, perhaps 231 and probably 349 were by an Italian hand; in fact LP 170 and 349 were produced somewhere in northern France during s. xii¹, whilst LP 231 is English/northern French and of s. xii^{2/4-med}. Additions to the gloss of LP 164 in a thirteenth-century English hand suggest its presence here by then. F. 1^r of LP 170 contains excerpts in an English hand. Plate XIX.

⁵² There are references to glossed manuscripts of the Epistles circulating in the late eleventh century and one was listed at Rochester shortly after 1125. Bishop Ralph d'Escures of Rochester (1108-13, translated to Canterbury) was, like Robert de Béthune, a pupil of Anselm of Laon (de Hamel, *Glossed Books*, p. 3). Gilbert's Psalter gloss was compiled c.1130; Lombard's Epistles gloss was probably complete by 1159.

through manuscripts post-dating c.1150 that Llanthony's holdings of glossed biblical books really grew. Four volumes of *s. xii*² brought Jeremias and *Threni* (e.g. the Lamentations of Jeremiah); two copies of Isaiah (one bound with prefaces to certain biblical books); and Judges, Esther, Tobias and Judith to the collection,⁵³ whilst four late-century volumes add Kings; Exodus; Deuteronomy and Joshua; and a Psalter with the gloss of Gilbert de la Porrée.⁵⁴ Amongst Llanthony's turn-of-the-century manuscripts are four more volumes which augmented by nine the priory's holding of glossed biblical books: Job and Daniel; Luke and John; Esther, Judith, Ruth and Apocalypse; and Psalms.⁵⁵ This Psalter contains the gloss of Peter Lombard, which is unlikely to have been released for copying before the end of the academic year 1158-9.⁵⁶ Thus it had taken Llanthony approximately forty years to obtain the text.⁵⁷

There are four thirteenth-century manuscripts of glossed books from Llanthony.⁵⁸ The presence of glossed books of this date indicates that Llanthony was still collecting this type of text, whose peak of popularity was the 1100s, whilst also collecting newer work. This may be because Llanthony began to acquire glossed

⁵³ LP MSS 134 (fos. 97-245) (plate XXIV); 153 (fos. 1-6, 7-88) (with the prefaces); 208; 114 (plate XXV).

⁵⁴ LP 85 (plate XXVII); 110; 343; Bodl. Auct. D.2.1 (plate XXVI). For LP 110, see M. Gullick, 'How Fast did Scribes Write? Evidence from Romanesque Manuscripts', *Making the Medieval Book: Techniques of Production*, ed. L.L. Brownrigg, Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500 (London, 1995), pp. 39-58 at pp. 50-2: this manuscript belonged to Llanthony after c.1175. N. Morgan dates Auct D.2.1 c.1190-1200: *Early Gothic MSS (I) 1190-1250* (London, 1982), no. 8 and pls. 22-3. The title on f. 6^v of Auct D.2.1 (*liber Psalmorum secundum glosulam Clementis Lantoniensis ecclesie prioris*) has led to the false ascription of this MS's Psalter gloss to Prior Clement of Llanthony (the book does contain one of his works).

⁵⁵ LP MSS 81 (plate XXVIII), 102 (plate XXIX), 395 (fos. i, ii, 1-52, 141-72), 63 (plate XXX).

⁵⁶ De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Although there may previously have been a Psalter with Peter Lombard's gloss at Llanthony, now lost (cf. A16.48). An interesting Psalter (LP 540; *s. xii*^{med}) contains the Gallican text heavily abbreviated: the first verse of Psalm 1 is written in full, after which only the first word or two of each verse is written, plus the initials of the remaining words. The reader would therefore have had to know the Psalter by heart in order to use this copy (as was the requirement for novices). The Psalter is copiously glossed (further work is required to ascertain the nature of the apparatus); this, plus the volume's very small size, its scrappiness and the fact that its gloss and oddly- and unevenly-sized pages can make it hard to read, imply that this volume was for private devotion/study rather than song. A flyleaf bears a label reading *Psalterium Ivonis*, indicating that the book originally belonged to an individual (Webber and Watson, *Augustinian Canons*, p. 44, suggest that this refers to a donor rather than to a writer). The gloss may be a personal compilation.

⁵⁸ LP 77 (Ezechiel and Daniel); LP 153 (fos. 156-79) (Luke); LP 217 (fos. 86-126) (Matthew); LP 335 (fos. 1-228) (*Proverbia, Cantica canticorum*, two copies of Ecclesiastes, Wisdom with occasional glosses). The text-hand of LP 153 and 217 is not dissimilar, although that of LP 217 seems slightly earlier.

biblical books slightly later than other centres and so was still collecting them when more recent material was also available. In addition, to obtain a complete set of glossed biblical books necessitated considerable effort.

The permeation of scholastic influence into Llanthony is also apparent in the form of the work of Peter Cantor: an early-thirteenth-century manuscript contains his *Verbum abbreviatum* (a manual of ethics centred on virtues and vices) and *Summa de sacramentis et anime consiliis* (a collection of *quaestiones*),⁵⁹ and a slightly later volume his Psalter commentary.⁶⁰ Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, another extremely popular twelfth-century scholastic text, survive in the thirteenth-century Bodl. Rawl. C.163, whilst there are two thirteenth-century copies of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* of Llanthony provenance.⁶¹ One, written in France c.1200, was at Llanthony Secunda by the 1300s.⁶² The history of the second is complicated: *cautiones* indicate its presence with an unspecified Llanthony canon at Oxford in the early fifteenth century; whether it was at Llanthony before this point is uncertain.⁶³ A late-twelfth-century manuscript very probably from Llanthony Secunda holds a rare abridgement of Peter of Poitiers's *Sententiae*. This manuscript's glosses reveal knowledge at Llanthony of several twelfth-century scholars whose work is otherwise unattested in its twelfth-century corpus, including Robert Pullen, Robert of Melun, John of Tours and Simon of Sywell.⁶⁴ A copy of Alexander Nequam's Psalter commentary, a scholastic exposition employing *distinctiones*, survives from c.1200.⁶⁵ Llanthony's geographical proximity to Cirencester, where Nequam became a canon, may have helped the community to acquire his work at

⁵⁹ LP 122.

⁶⁰ LP 71 (fos. i, 1-118). Llanthony was, therefore, collecting Psalter commentaries both ancient and modern, as is shown by the presence of both this text and Cassiodorus on the Psalms (LP 29) in coeval MSS.

⁶¹ This became the standard work on Biblical history in the medieval period and was frequently commentated upon.

⁶² Lincoln's Inn, MS Hale 91 (85).

⁶³ LP 83. See chapter 9.

⁶⁴ LP 142 (fos. 1-119). A copy of this MS (WCL F.50, s. xiii^m), probably also made at Llanthony Secunda, demonstrates in-house production in the early 1200s (see chapter 6 for this text's significance).

⁶⁵ LP 61 (fos. 1-117).

an early date.⁶⁶

In contrast to the 'standard' widely collected authors whose work occupies many twelfth- and thirteenth-century Llanthony manuscripts, other broadly contemporary books contain the work of the Llanthony canons themselves.⁶⁷ All that is known of John of Llanthony is that he wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse which survives uniquely in the late-twelfth-century LP 119, and that he was Llanthony's *supprior*.⁶⁸ The insertions, marginalia and corrections indicate that this was the author's own copy.⁶⁹ The work is largely a *catena* of thematic extracts from earlier authors, identified by marginal *sigla*.⁷⁰ Much more is known about Clement of Llanthony (prior c.1150-post-1169), who attempted (vainly) to compel the canons of Llanthony Secunda to return to Llanthony Prima, whose environment he considered beneficial. The mid-twelfth-century Royal 2 D.v contains his commentary on Acts, a compilation from Bede with additions from Augustine, Gregory the Great and others.⁷¹ The close writing and marginal additions suggest that this may have been a working copy. From later in the century, Clement's commentary on the Catholic Epistles survives uniquely in LP 239 (fos.1-283).⁷² James believed that this manuscript, too, was Clement's own copy, and it is certainly coeval with him.⁷³ The commentary is again a

⁶⁶ See chapter 6 for a link between Alexander and Llanthony in 1204-5 which might have hastened the arrival of the text at Llanthony. Llanthony's fourteenth-century library catalogue records further works by Nequam.

⁶⁷ These should be considered alongside the scholarly and literary activity of Llanthony canons in the earlier 1100s mentioned in previous chapters, viz. the role of Robert de Braci in emending the Anselmian texts in Royal 8.D.viii and the letters of Robert of Béthune (lost in MS form but A16.356 in H460; Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1429).

⁶⁸ F.1^r: *Johannes supprior super Apocalipsim*. A16.132: *Johannes supprior super apocalipsim. magnum volumen*. Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 771: unprinted.

⁶⁹ As first noted by James, *Catalogue*. The book is in a good bold hand with a leftward slope, but roughly written. Plates XXII-XXIII.

⁷⁰ Cited are *M.B.* for *Magister Berengarius* (Berengaudus), *R.. p'* for *Robertus prior* (Robert of Bridlington? His work is unattested in Llanthony's twelfth-century collection, although A16.139 in H460 may be by him), *Ivo* (of Chartres?) and *B.P.* (*Beda presbiter*). James, *Catalogue*, does not believe that there is anything original in the book except the selection and combination of passages and connecting clauses.

⁷¹ Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 194: unprinted; the sole surviving copy. Marginal citations include: *Ier proemio*; *B.P. sp. act apl; aug, GG li.xijj.moraliiu [sic], LEO pp'*.

⁷² Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 194. Another copy was attested at Leicester. S.J. Wakefield, 'An edition and commentary on Clement of Llanthony's Commentary on the Catholic Epistles', unpublished Ph.D thesis, (University of London, 1997). Plate XXI.

⁷³ It therefore pre-dates 1174 and was at Llanthony s. xii^{ex} (*lant'*, f. i): cf. P.R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.888-1600 in London Libraries* [henceforth *DDLL*] (London, 2003), I no. 67; II, pl. 16. The text of the Epistles is throughout written across the bottom of the pages.

compilation, with earlier authorities cited by marginal *sigla*. The writers in question are: Augustine, Bede, Bernard of Clairvaux (*super Cantica*), Cyprian, Gregory, Haimo, Hrabanus, Hugh of St. Victor (*de Sacramentis*), Isidore, John Cassian, John Chrysostom and Origen. Apart from their intrinsic interest, these citations are also useful in indicating which works were available for Clement (and John) to study.⁷⁴ Some of these citations are authors whose work is not known to have been at Llanthony at this time (Haimo, Hrabanus, John Chrysostom), illustrating losses from the collection or suggesting that these works were consulted elsewhere. Another tract by Clement, *De sex alis cherubim*, was inserted into the late-twelfth-century Llanthony manuscript Bodl. Auct. D.2.1 (a handsomely-decorated glossed Psalter) and enjoyed greater circulation.⁷⁵ A thirteenth-century Llanthony manuscript may also contain a text by Clement, the *Meditationes Clementis de beata virgine - Clementis* is added at the beginning. It is tempting to equate this *Clement* with our house-author.⁷⁶ Clement wrote at least six further works, all theological in nature.⁷⁷ The writings

⁷⁴ These citations can be compared with extant MSS thought to have been at Llanthony at this stage: only three texts of Bede are recorded (LP 147, 148, 173 [fos. 157-222], 380 [fos. 1-120]), but his extensive citation indicates that more might have been available; Augustine (LP 95, 149, 200 [fos. 164-7], 215, 336, 337, 365, 372 [fos. 1-139], 431, Rawl. A.374, OCCC 139, 194, OQC 309, OTC 51, Royal 8 D.viii) and Gregory (LP 56, 96, 218, 345 [fos. 97-227], 431 [fos. 161-82], OTC 39, 40) are well represented amongst the surviving texts; three texts of Isidore are present (LP 377, 380); John Cassian and Cyprian survive in LP 101 and 106. Twelfth-century copies of the texts specifically noted by James, *Catalogue*, as used in this commentary also survive from Llanthony: Hugh of S.-Victor's *De Sacramentis* (LP 189) and two copies of Bernard *super Cantica* (LP 452, 161).

⁷⁵ Unprinted. Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 194, lists twelve extant copies. The two earliest copies listed are Auct D.2.1 and, interestingly, HCL P.I.1 (s.xii²), made and kept at Gloucester Abbey (Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, pp. 64-5). Perhaps significantly, HCL P.I.1 also contains Anselm of Canterbury's *De humanis moribus per similitudines*, to which the Llanthony books Royal 5 F.ix and Royal 8 D.viii are the earliest extant witnesses. This is further evidence for contact between the neighbouring communities of Llanthony Secunda and Gloucester in the 1100s. Three further copies of this text survive from the twelfth-thirteenth centuries; three from s. xiii and four from s. xiv.

⁷⁶ LP 151 (fos. 210-335). Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 194, judges the attribution to Clement of Llanthony doubtful. This is the sole copy.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* lists these. *De tribus in paenitentia consideranda* (unprinted) survives solely in CCCC 66 (Salley; s. xiii^m). The MS evidence suggests that the most popular of Clement's works was the concordance *Vnum ex quatuor* (unprinted). Sharpe records 14 copies of this, plus seven attested copies. The earliest is the English book Hatton 61 (s. xii^{med-3/4}) (I am grateful to Michael Gullick for the revision of Sharpe's date). The medieval provenance of the next earliest copy, HCL O.II.10 (s. xiii^m) is unknown, but its presence at Hereford might suggest a local origin. The remaining copies are of s. xiii-xv. The commentary accompanying the concordance survives in five copies, with three copies attested. The earliest, CTC B.5.13 (s. xii/xiii) is rejected in *MLGB* from both Christ Church, Canterbury and Gloucester. Also popular was the Middle English translation of the concordance, *Oon of foure* (parts 1-5 ed. P.M. Smith, 'An edition of parts I-V of the Wycliffite translation of Clement of Llanthony's Latin Gospel harmony *Unum ex quatuor*, known as *Oon of foure*', unpublished Ph.D thesis (University of Southampton, 1985); parts 6-12

of John and Clement imply that, notwithstanding the impression given by Gerald of Wales of the lack of religiosity within Llanthony, a couple of members at least were active in theological study. They also, by drawing extensively upon the scholarship of more celebrated authors, suggest the practical deployment of the community's collection and that scholarly activity was maintained at Llanthony (albeit possibly only by a few individuals) into the last quarter of the twelfth century. Furthermore, the manuscripts in question were presumably written 'in-house' and thus are witnesses to continuing scribal activity, a theme to be considered below.

From the mid-twelfth century survives a slightly different sort of text associated with Llanthony scholarship: LP 475 (fos. 111-79) is the earliest of three extant copies of the *vita* of Robert de Béthune, Llanthony's second prior who became Bishop of Hereford in 1129.⁷⁸ The work was composed by the community's fourth prior, William of Wycombe (1137-c.1150).⁷⁹ The production of copies of the *vita* indicates the pride which the community felt in its former prior and a wish to aggrandise his holy status.⁸⁰ Reciprocally, Robert continued to view Llanthony favourably after his promotion to Hereford.⁸¹ LP 475 is dedicated to Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester (from 1129) and, importantly, abbot of nearby Glastonbury from 1126, holding both posts until his death in 1171.⁸² Robert was a close associate of Henry who, as papal legate had precedence over

unpr.), of which fourteen copies are known. No Latin or English MS of *Vnum ex quatuor* of Llanthony provenance has been identified, although a copy of the commentary is recorded in Llanthony's fourteenth-century library catalogue (A16.102) (might this be the CTC volume rejected from Gloucester?). The catalogue, incidentally, attests to the erstwhile existence of two of Clement's works that are now lost in MS form: his commentary on Revelation (A16.112) and *Summa de dialectica et theologia* (A16.107-8). The catalogue of the Leicester Augustinians records his commentary on the Augustinian Rule (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, list A20.242). Finally, John Leland recorded Clement's commentary on the Gospels at Glastonbury: *English Benedictine Libraries: the Shorter Catalogues*, ed. R. Sharpe, J.P. Carley, R.M. Thomson, A.G. Watson, CBMLC 4 (London, 1996), list B44.4.

⁷⁸ Plate XXI. Parkinson, *Life*, translates and discusses this text; Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 2222 lists the extant manuscripts: the three discussed here, plus Harley 469 (s. xvii). A copy is also attested at Hereford cathedral, where it was seen by Patrick Young 1622-3. Extracts from it are in Bodl. MS Wood F.30 (fos. 55^v-58^v) (1640) and its last known location is Holme Lacy in 1804.

⁷⁹ The *vita* most probably dates from between Robert's death in 1148 and William's resignation as prior of Llanthony c.1150.

⁸⁰ The author was, however, unpopular within his community (see chapter 1).

⁸¹ Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters*, pp. 94, 98, 199.

⁸² F.111^v: *H. dei gratia Epo' Wint'. Willelmus p̄ri/or lanth'.*

the see of Canterbury.⁸³ His positions made him an influential contact for the community. The thirteenth-century book Cotton, Julius D.x also holds the *vita* and is again dedicated to a local figure: Reginald, prior of Wenlock.⁸⁴ The third extant copy, Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, MS 5088 (s. xiii¹), is also dedicated to Reginald.⁸⁵ The supply of several missing folios in the fourteenth century indicates concern for the text then.⁸⁶ Were this refurbishment done at Llanthony, it might be viewed in the context of other evidence for the priory's interest in its own history and resources in the 1300s.⁸⁷ It might also suggest access to a second copy there for use as an exemplar to repair this one.

The exact relationship between the texts of these three manuscripts remains unexplored; nevertheless a couple of observations are possible. The prologue of TF 5088 agrees fairly closely with Julius D.x but contains phrases not in the latter, whilst its text is close to that printed by Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, from LP 475.⁸⁸ A clue to the relationship between the *vita* manuscripts might come from an addition to TF 5088. On f. 3^r (chapter II), the reading *eius Gunfridus* has been amended by an interlinear addition to *eius frater Gunfridus*. This amendment brings it into line with the reading of the Lambeth and Cotton *vita* manuscripts and may suggest that the corrector of TF 5088 was able to consult one of these.⁸⁹

Llanthony is the most natural place for the *vita* to have been copied. The presence of different dedications in these manuscripts suggests that the community was the centre from which the *vita* of its former prior was

⁸³ *Life*, ed. Parkinson, pp. 12 n. 1, 82, 84, 226.

⁸⁴ Reginald was prior of Much Wenlock c.1135-c.1155. Julius D.x is too late to have been made for Reginald, so we must assume that it was copied directly or indirectly from the dedicatory manuscript and the original inscription retained. Reginald was also a close companion of Robert and attended his death-bed (*Life*, ed. Parkinson, pp. 39, 212).

⁸⁵ Henceforth TF 5088. Plate XXXIII. F. 2^r: *Prologus Willi prioris lan / th'. ad Reginald' priorem de / Weneloc*. After the Dissolution, this book stayed close to Llanthony Secunda: Anthony Wood states that it belonged to a church in Hereford (the Cathedral Library?); thereafter it was owned by a Hereford antiquary (d. 1678); it was sold by Thomas Bird of Hereford in 1837, whereupon it became Phillipps MS 22230: Sotheby and Co., *Bibliotheca Phillippica*, New Series: Medieval Manuscripts Part 1 (1965), pp. 29-30. It was sold to H.P. Kraus (thence presumably to Toronto). This could be the copy that Patrick Young saw at Hereford cathedral if it went to Holme Lacy between the Herefordshire antiquary and Thomas Bird.

⁸⁶ Fos. 16-21, 36-37 are fourteenth-century supplies whose script and rubrics imitate those of the original pages.

⁸⁷ E.g. the library catalogue, archival documents and liturgical material.

⁸⁸ *Bibliotheca Phillippica*, p. 30.

⁸⁹ Although the word order in Lambeth and Cotton differs: *frater eius Gunfridus*.

disseminated to other religious communities or figures within his diocese.⁹⁰ That only three extant copies of the *vita* are known, combined with dedications that suggest local diffusion, may suggest that it had a fairly limited dissemination; however, this is exactly the type of text that is most likely to have been destroyed at the Reformation and this should be borne in mind when judging its impact from these copies.

Following the Béthune *vita* in Julius D.x is the invaluable chronicle which records details of Llanthony's early history. The author and date of composition of this chronicle are unknown, but may be inferred from the text. The chronicler was doubtless a Llanthony canon and his antipathy towards Llanthony Secunda and use of 'here' when describing Llanthony Prima suggest that he wrote from the Welsh house.⁹¹ The chronicler states that prior Clement of Llanthony's (d. post-1169/c.1174) virtues can be told by elderly men still living.⁹² When writing of the persecutions of Llanthony Prima following the foundation of Secunda, he notes that they endured for seventy years.⁹³ Yet he does not mention the division of the Llanthonies in 1205. These facts suggest a date of composition of the end of the 1100s or beginning of the 1200s. Julius D.x is not the autograph copy: it is too late and employs several hands, whilst the chronicle employs the first person singular. The collection of several texts concerning Llanthony's twelfth-century history in this thirteenth-century manuscript is an interesting retrospective sign of interest in the community's beginnings, perhaps in order to edify the canons about its early history as it passed out of living memory. Subsequent post-division additions to the manuscript extend the roll of priors by listing those of Llanthony Prima, strengthening the manuscript's connection to the mother-house.

Although Llanthony's re-location to Gloucester is reflected in the appearance and textual recensions of some of its books, the only local scholarship in the volumes

⁹⁰ If Llanthony produced copies of the *vita* for distribution, these manuscripts may have left it at an early date.

⁹¹ Roberts, *Some Account*, pp. 58-61.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

of this period is that of these house-authors, Alexander Nequam and Gerald of Wales. A similar situation prevailed at Hereford Cathedral.⁹⁴

In addition to manuscripts of the Béthune *vita*, Llanthony acquired a little more general hagiography: the *Vita S. Edwardi regis et martyris* (Edward the Martyr [975-8 AD]);⁹⁵ Leontius Neapolitanus's *Vita S. Iohannis Eleemosynarii*;⁹⁶ and extracts from Gregory of Tours's *Miracula Andreae*.⁹⁷ Contemporary hagiography is represented by the only extant copy of Gerald of Wales's (1146-1226) *Vita Gaufridi* in a manuscript of c.1200.⁹⁸ We may reasonably assume that the early community also had accounts of the miracles of its patron saints, John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary.⁹⁹

This summary of the extant books of Llanthony provenance of c.1150-c.1250 highlights that the community's collection chiefly comprised theology, whether old or new. Rarely does an extant Llanthony book contain a non-theological text, but there are a few examples.

Two twelfth-century copies of Priscian's *Grammatica* attest to the study of Latin and grammar at Llanthony. The earlier (s. xii^{2/4}) is the first extant witness to the liberal arts at Llanthony;¹⁰⁰ the later, LP 195 (s. xii^{med}), is grander than its predecessor, employing gold in its decoration. It is unlikely to have come to Llanthony until the early thirteenth century, as it is inscribed ...*dono Gauf. men. epi.*: this is Geoffrey of Hennelawe (prior c.1185x89-1203), who subsequently became bishop of St. Davids.¹⁰¹ Also extant are a *glossarium* of c.1200¹⁰² and Bede's school treatise *De schematibus et tropis*.¹⁰³

⁹⁴ Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, pp. xv-xvi.

⁹⁵ By Goscelin of St. Bertin? LP 149 (s. xii/xiii) - *sigla Lb* in C.E. Fell, *Edward, King and Martyr* (Leeds, 1971), who observes (p. vii) that the scribe was 'a meticulously accurate copyist'.

⁹⁶ Trans. Anastasius Bibliothecarius (LP 122).

⁹⁷ LP 431 (fos. 1-7, 16-88).

⁹⁸ CCC 390 (plate XXXI). The subject was Archbishop of York (c.1152-1212). The text is here incomplete; the remainder is in Gerald's *Symbolum Electorum*, of which the sole complete copy is CTC, R.7.11 (749) (s. xiiiⁱⁿ), from the Franciscan convent in Hereford.

⁹⁹ One quire from a treatise on the Virgin is in LP 360.

¹⁰⁰ LP 196.

¹⁰¹ Plate XIV. This inscription suggests that the book was given after Geoffrey became bishop. Nonetheless, it is old enough to have been at Llanthony when he was prior. The book may have been in Geoffrey's personal collection, yet the divide between institutional and personal

By c.1250, Llanthony had also acquired some samples of classical scholarship. A volume allied to the 'Llanthony hand' group contains Boethius, Aristotle, Cicero and others on logic.¹⁰⁴ Such collections were little copied in England prior to the Conquest, but became more popular in the twelfth century. This was supplemented in the late twelfth century by Seneca's *De beneficiis* and *De clementia*, bound with Pseudo-Seneca's *De paupertate*.¹⁰⁵ A volume linked to Llanthony Prima holds Cicero's *De amicitia* and *De senectute* and moral sayings by, *inter alios*, Seneca, Aristotle, Boethius, Cicero and Socrates.¹⁰⁶ A copy of Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae*, with the gloss of Remigius of Auxerre, was at Llanthony by the late thirteenth century.¹⁰⁷

Law, medicine and history are barely represented in this corpus. The letters of Fulbert and Ivo of Chartres concern church politics.¹⁰⁸ LP 449 holds a miscellany of texts, including Gratian's *Decretum*, medical receipts and a tract on canon law.¹⁰⁹ Llanthony acquired in this period one sample of 'secular' history - Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie*¹¹⁰ - and one of church history: Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.¹¹¹ The latter is particularly interesting because it was written at Llanthony Prima's Irish cell of Greatconnell, County Kildare, in 1237 AD.¹¹²

ownership may not have been so rigid as to prevent other canons having had access to it. It was perhaps a leaving gift to his former community.

¹⁰² LP 389.

¹⁰³ OCCC 43 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ).

¹⁰⁴ LP 339 (plate XV). Porphyry, *Isagoge*; Boethius, *Categories* and *De interpretatione*; M. Victorinus, *De definitionibus*; Boethius, *De divisione* (with a fragment of Aristotle's *Topica IV* embedded in it) and *De differentiis topicis*; Cicero, *Topica*; Boethius, *De syllogismis categoricis* and *De syllogismis hypotheticis*. M.T. Gibson and L. Smith (eds.), *Codices Boethiani: A Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius I: Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland*, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts XXV (London, 1995), no. 146, date this book s. xii^{1/2}.

¹⁰⁵ LP 138. These texts often travelled together.

¹⁰⁶ LP 425 (fos.1-21) (s. xii/xiii) and LP 431 (fos.1-7, 16-88) (s. xii^{ex}) (formerly one volume).

¹⁰⁷ OCCC 59.

¹⁰⁸ Royal 11 A.x.

¹⁰⁹ *De origine iuris canonici et de vij generalibus causis contrarietatum in canonibus emergencium*. It is disappointing not to find more medical texts amongst Llanthony's collection, as prior Geoffrey of Hennelawe (c.1189-1203) was reputed for his medical skill (Langston, 'Priors', p. 29).

¹¹⁰ LP 379.

¹¹¹ In the translation of Rufinus.

¹¹² HCL P.iv.14. The book's contemporary binding is a late monastic binding in pure Romanesque style (M. Gullick, 'The Bindings', Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, p. xxix).

Finally, we return to service and liturgical texts, whose survival in the earlier twelfth century was so limited. Unfortunately, fate has been equally harsh to post-c.1150 examples. What survives are chiefly fragments embedded in volumes containing other texts – an *expositio canonis missae*;¹¹³ an *Ordo* as performed in the Church of Rome;¹¹⁴ a treatise on some offices of the church;¹¹⁵ a sermon/gloss on the Magnificat;¹¹⁶ a *sermo de latrone crucifixo* with the apocryphal gospel of St. Nicodemus;¹¹⁷ *homiliae in diebus variis festis* (including some by Peter Comestor and Hildebertus Cenomanensis);¹¹⁸ and a bifolium of the earliest customs of the Cistercian order.¹¹⁹ LP 215 (s. xii²) contains a collection of Creeds according to various councils of Toledo, plus the Nicene Creed, along with other texts concerning the orthodox observance of the faith. Missing though are volumes devoted to the liturgy which might have been employed in services, such as graduals or missals, although Harley 459 (s. xii^{ex}) contains the *Officium S. Marthe*.¹²⁰ Llanthony did acquire Psalters this period, but their glosses render them scholarly rather than devotional or liturgical volumes. Little of this material is apparently specific to the liturgy as observed by the early Llanthony community, although OCCC 59 (s. xiii^{med}) contains several hymns to the Virgin (in Latin and English, some with music) and verses in honour of Sts. Kyneburg and Milburga, who had chapels at Llanthony Secunda.¹²¹ The manuscript of John of Llanthony on Apocalypse contains a marginal rubric contemporary with the book that suggests that it was used as a liturgical reading.¹²²

¹¹³ LP 147 (s. xii^{med})

¹¹⁴ LP 380 (fos. 121-228).

¹¹⁵ CUL, Dd.10.25 (c.1160).

¹¹⁶ LP 451 (fos. 83-192) (s. xii²).

¹¹⁷ LP 200 (fos. 168-75, 176-217).

¹¹⁸ OCCC 43 (c.1200).

¹¹⁹ LP 1229 (no. 10). Prior Geoffrey of Hennelawe was formerly a Cistercian monk (Langston, 'Priors', p. 29).

¹²⁰ An *officium* for St. Martha is quite rare.

¹²¹ One of the devotions to St. Kyneburg (f. 69^v) refers to Robert de Béthune as the founder of Llanthony's chapel dedicated to her. An especially interesting hymn for Kyneburg's feast day highlights the reputation of her shrine for miracles of healing, employing numerous medical terms and Greek derivatives (C. Brown, 'A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript from Llanthony Priory', *Speculum*, III, no. 4 (1928), pp. 587-595, pp. 589-92). Further material concerning St. Kyneburg is found in some of Llanthony's fourteenth-century MSS.

¹²² LP 119 (72^r: plate XXIII). However, that it is erased may suggest that it was of limited use.

Stepping back to consider the picture as a whole shows that, notwithstanding uncertainties of attribution and losses, Llanthony - in particular Secunda – had, by just over a century after the flight from Wales, accrued a respectable library. In many ways, the books of c.1150-c.1250 embody a continuation of the collecting pattern begun in the first half of the twelfth century: to amass key theological works, whether old or recent, by the most respected authors, whilst gradually acquiring authors new to the collection (many of them comparatively ‘modern’).¹²³ Holdings of Augustine, Gregory, Ambrose, Jerome, Hugh of S.-Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux and Anselm of Canterbury were strengthened. Some authors, such as Augustine and Hugh, were accumulated in piecemeal fashion throughout this period. A response to current trends continues to be visible in this material. In the earlier 1100s, this was to Bernard and Anselm; after c.1150, attention was directed towards even more modern, in some cases still living, authors such as Geoffrey Babio, Stephen Langton, Alexander Nequam and William de Montibus. A significant investment was made in glossed biblical books. Work by the Llanthony canons themselves maintained a tradition of scholarship amongst the community’s leading members.¹²⁴ The manuscripts show a fundamental continuity from the late twelfth to the earlier thirteenth century and, if an overarching philosophy can be perceived, it was to ‘fill in the gaps’ in the holdings of a ‘standard’ twelfth-century ‘monastic’ library.

There is some modest diversification from c.1150: grammar, classics, history and law are represented in a very restricted way. This may reflect several changes in circumstance: the fact that some of the theological ‘basics’ had now been acquired, giving scope for the collecting focus to widen; that by c.1150 the community was approaching its half-century and Llanthony Secunda had been established for a number of years, bringing greater stability than hitherto; that greater stability brought to the fore concerns such as the education of new recruits, which might be responsible for the appearance of such texts as Priscian;

¹²³ In some ways, this is a strength - the greatest spiritual authorities were a sound basis for any monastic book collection – but in other ways a weakness, suggesting that the collection did not have the depth to accommodate anything more than the most ‘obvious’ texts.

¹²⁴ That all of these men held high position in the community strongly suggests that learning was an advantage to heads of houses. Their association with priors may have improved the chances of survival of these works.

and that increased wealth potentially freed more resources for investment in books, allowing perhaps the acquisition of a wider variety than hitherto. However, non-theological disciplines are usually represented by only a small number of books. Conversely, holdings of theology were robust by *c.*1250.

What do these books reveal about the circumstances of acquisition at Llanthony in this period? Chief amongst our concerns is how Llanthony acquired its books. Around 1150, Llanthony was one community existing, albeit supposedly temporarily, across two sites. Both sites had a history of book acquisition. There is little explicit evidence concerning the ongoing relationship between Llanthony Prima and Secunda in the later twelfth century, although the presence of several duplicates in the twelfth-century corpus may suggest how books were provided for two sites. Llanthony Prima's revivification *c.*1175 may have stimulated demand for books there. From *c.*1205, these sites were officially independent communities, with associated consequences for books which had previously, theoretically at least, belonged to both. The arrangements made for the books at the time of the separation are unknown.¹²⁵

Home production is the most obvious method by which Llanthony could have acquired books in this period. The books considered in the previous chapter were almost certainly produced in-house at Llanthony Secunda and there seems little reason why the seemingly competent home production that they embody should not have continued during the later 1100s. Llanthony in Gloucester's more settled circumstances and greater prosperity, of which the books written in the 'Llanthony hand' might be the first flourishing, provided ideal conditions for continued in-house production and greater resources for potential investment in books.

The best way to assess continued in-house production is to use those books discussed in the previous chapter as a stylistic benchmark against which to judge

¹²⁵ The early localisation to Llanthony of many books of *c.*1150-*c.*1250 is difficult. The following discussion assumes that, unless there is evidence to the contrary, books were at Llanthony shortly after their manufacture.

others. Similarities between the 'Llanthony hand' books and five dating from a similar time (s. xii^{2/4-3/4}) suggest that the latter may also be products of Llanthony's (Secunda's) scriptorium. LP 336 and 337 bear many resemblances to the 'Llanthony hand' books: codicologically identical, their content (Augustine) is also in the same tradition; both employ a round script reminiscent of the 'Llanthony hand'; and their articulation is also related to the 'Llanthony hand' group: 336 features both 'minor' and 'major boss-style' initials. One handsome initial combines the 'minor boss-style' with the interior scalloping found in the initials of some earlier Llanthony books.¹²⁶ In LP 337, the opening initial comprises familiar elements: 'major boss-style' motifs and a foliage tail, which, like earlier books already discussed, is reminiscent of initials in Worcester and Winchcombe manuscripts.¹²⁷ Most striking, though, is the resemblance of these motifs and, especially, the pattern contained in the body of this letter *I* to an initial in a 'Llanthony hand' book.¹²⁸ The book is quite plain apart from its impressive initials, which are more elaborate than those of the 'Llanthony hand' group.

Three further volumes also resemble the 'Llanthony hand' group, but are distanced from it by their codicology. LP 339 was written by a scribe whose style resembles LP 336 and 337. Yet it is differentiated from them by the nature of its content (*logica vetus*), by its pencil ruling, and by its precisely-executed initials, which deploy a larger range of colours than earlier Llanthony books and enclose more sophisticated designs.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, simpler and familiar decorative motifs are also used.¹³⁰ This book's palaeographical and decorative links to others from Llanthony, plus a Llanthony Secunda *ex libris*, indicate that it is another in-house product. LP 336, 337 and 339 are written in very similar hands; their cohesiveness indicates a common origin, which is probably identical to their shared provenance.

¹²⁶ F. 141^v.

¹²⁷ F. 2^r. Thomson, 'Minor MS Decoration', pp. 27-8, figs. 6b, 7a ('Worcester flat-colour').

¹²⁸ OTC 33 (f. 3^v) (plate XII). LP 336 and 337 also employ other familiar decorative motifs (e.g. jigsaw and corona initials).

¹²⁹ Plate XV.

¹³⁰ 'Minor boss-style' and scalloped initials, foliate flourishes.

The last two books strongly reminiscent of the 'Llanthony hand' group are LP 391 and OQC 309. LP 391 (Geoffrey Babio) is also ruled in pencil, but its broad script resembles the 'Llanthony hand'.¹³¹ A plain volume, it opens with a 'minor boss-style' initial.¹³² Stylistic traits and a contemporary *ex libris* make this a good candidate for Llanthony production. Finally, OQC 309 (s. xii^{3/4}; Augustine) is written in a regular and rounded script, by two scribes, which again resembles the 'Llanthony hand', whilst its initials also hark back strongly to those books.¹³³ OQC 309 opens with a flat-colour arabesque *E*, with swirling interior foliage and fine red interior fringing similar to that seen in the initials of other twelfth-century Llanthony books.¹³⁴ Amongst other familiar decorative motifs is an initial in the variation of the 'Llanthony fringed style' that appears in three twelfth-century books of Llanthony provenance.¹³⁵

These books suggest that the traditions of the proposed scriptorium at Llanthony Secunda that produced the books written in the 'Llanthony hand' in the second quarter-to-mid century continued into the second half of the twelfth century. These slightly later books lack the high level of uniformity shared by the earlier 'Llanthony hand' books, which suggests that, in the third quarter of the twelfth century, the scriptorium was responding to new trends. It may also indicate a lessening of the scribal control necessary to produce books of highly homogenous appearance.

The books of similar appearance (the 'Llanthony hand' group plus those just discussed) therefore number about twenty, although traces of the familiar styles are visible in further manuscripts of the second half of the twelfth century which may be outlying members or descendents of this group. That the most

¹³¹ It often employs the Tironian *et*, whereas the 'Llanthony hand' books use the ampersand; the 'cup-shaped' abbreviation mark found in those books has been superseded by one composed of a straight line.

¹³² Plate XVI.

¹³³ Like those books, the ampersand and cup-shaped abbreviation mark are used.

¹³⁴ F. 1^v. Plate XVII. The initial resembles fig. 5b of Thomson, 'Minor MS Decoration', but lacks the characteristic dots of this predominantly-Winchcombe style (*ibid.*, p. 25). Similar initials appear in 'Llanthony hand' books.

¹³⁵ The classic 'Llanthony fringed style' initial appears only in books written in the 'Llanthony hand' (see previous chapter). In this variation of it, the row of dots accompanying the internal fringing has been substituted for small circles (plate XVII). This variation appears also in the twelfth-century books LP 119, also almost certainly an in-house product (plate XXIII), and LP 164, of French origin but early Llanthony provenance (see further below) (plate XIX).

homogenous manuscripts are fairly close in date suggests that the disciplined scribal environment which would be necessary to engender such cohesiveness lasted for about a generation. The most homogenous books may relate to a particular generation of producers, perhaps a fairly small group overseen by a 'director', and, once these individuals were no longer present, control in the scriptorium lessened, resulting in volumes of more variable appearance. Once inevitable losses are taken into account, the work of this generation represents a considerable achievement, providing a solid foundation of crucial texts in attractive manuscripts.

The manuscripts from this period that contain the work of Llanthony's house-authors were also almost certainly produced by the canons themselves. Indeed, the presence of many corrections and alterations in some indicates that they are working copies. Although the copies of the Béthune *vita* bear inscriptions indicating that they were presentation copies to be given outside the community, Llanthony itself is their natural origin. Llanthony's production of copies of the *vita* for other centres suggests it promoted its most exalted member, from which it would profit by association. Whilst it may be tempting to use the appearance of manuscripts of house-author texts to gauge Llanthony's book-producing capability in the later twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries, caution should be exercised in the case of these particular manuscripts: working or the author's own copies were not, inherently, intended to be prestigious, whilst manuscripts that were intended to be presentation copies for an honoured individual indicate what the community could achieve, but may not reflect the standards applied to cotemporary home-made library books.

The earliest *vita* manuscript, LP 475 (s. xii^{med}), is rather plain.¹³⁶ Although broadly coeval with the in-house 'Llanthony hand' manuscripts, it does not share their style of script. Codicologically and decoratively, though, it resembles these Llanthony products, featuring plain and 'minor boss-style' initials and foliate flourishes. The book is neat, although not especially prestigious for a gift – indeed, less so than some Llanthony manuscripts produced for internal use. It

¹³⁶ Plate XXI.

contains quite a lot of later- and post-medieval annotation by various hands. A thirteenth-century copy of the *vita*, TF 5088, is written in a regular early Gothic book-hand and articulated by blue initials pen-flourished in red.¹³⁷ Although its overall quality is marred by poor parchment, it is of a higher grade than LP 475 and reflects competent production in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The late-twelfth-century manuscripts of John and Clement of Llanthony are larger-scale and more elaborate than LP 475. LP 119 (John) was written by more than one good scribe. Its initials are larger, bolder and more complex than those in LP 475. A range of designs, including ‘minor’ and ‘major boss-style’, is used. The opening initial *A* (f. 7^r) has a ‘stunted’ left upright and foliate flourishes, a style seen in other twelfth-century Llanthony books.¹³⁸ That opening the second *visio* is a variation of the ‘Llanthony fringed style’ initial.¹³⁹ This continuity with other in-house products strengthens the case both for LP 119’s origin at and for continued community production at Llanthony Secunda in the later 1100s.¹⁴⁰ The opening initial of LP 239 (fos.1-283) combines ‘minor boss-style’ with more unusual elements.¹⁴¹ These books, despite probably being their author’s own copy and bearing numerous alterations, are decorated to a higher standard than the twelfth-century copy of the *vita*. Both are sufficiently similar to earlier Llanthony products to be the work of the same milieu.

Notable amongst Llanthony’s books from this period is that some texts are represented by more than one copy. Such duplicates might, as anywhere, be a response to the growth in the community’s size. However, as Llanthony was between c.1150 and c.1250 still trying to acquire the components of a library and lacked even one copy of many other ‘standards’, the duplication of existing texts would have been an inconvenient drain on resources. Although some duplicates

¹³⁷ Plate XXXIII.

¹³⁸ Including the ‘Llanthony hand’ book OTC 51 (f. 75^v) and, interestingly, LP 114, a glossed biblical book which is probably a professional product. Plate XXII.

¹³⁹ F. 72^r. Plate XXIII. This variant style is also found in OQC 309 (see note 135 above) and LP 164.

¹⁴⁰ A slip of parchment bearing an addition glued to f. 112^v has on its reverse writing that appears slightly earlier than the main book and which resembles the ‘Llanthony hand’. This further supports a Llanthony origin for LP 119, whilst such apparent re-deployment of older parchment indicates that a book from the previous generation was obsolete.

¹⁴¹ Plate XXI.

may have been fortunate acquisitions or gifts,¹⁴² the circumstance of Llanthony's bifurcation provides a rationale for duplication – the necessity of providing essential works for two sites.¹⁴³ During Llanthony's seventy-odd-year existence (1136-c.1205) as one community across two sites, Secunda was in the better position to acquire books (by whatever means), but whilst Llanthony remained a single entity, it must be assumed that it operated as such in book-related matters and that its books were joint property. Geographical distance would obviously have rendered sharing a single copy of a text difficult. Canons did travel between Wales and Gloucester, and although other communities with distant cells sometimes passed texts between the two, this can hardly have been an ideal practice for meeting the daily needs of a dual foundation. A more satisfactory solution for Llanthony was surely the production or acquisition of duplicates of its existing texts, providing a copy for both sites. This would most straightforwardly have been achieved by in-house copying and the obvious exemplar was the community's existing copy. The evidence of the extant manuscripts supports the theory of in-house duplication; furthermore, the date of some duplicate copies coincides with important events in Llanthony's history, which might have provided the impetus for replication.

For three works, textual collation shows that Llanthony's later manuscript was indeed copied from its earlier manuscript of the same text. There is one copy of Augustine's *Confessiones* dating from the first quarter of the twelfth century (LP 365 [fos. 1-119]) and one from the middle (LP 336). Teresa Webber noted that LP 336 seems to be a copy of LP 365.¹⁴⁴ In addition to demonstrating that Llanthony utilised its own resources to extend its book collection, this confirms an early Llanthony provenance for this portion of LP 365: LP 336 is an in-house product and that LP 365 was its exemplar places the latter at Llanthony at an early point. Furthermore, as LP 365 (fos. 1-119) predates Llanthony Secunda's

¹⁴² E.g. Llanthony's two twelfth-century copies of Priscian: the later (LP 195) bears the *ex dono* of prior Geoffrey of Hennelawe, so may not have been acquired as part of its mainstream collecting policy.

¹⁴³ Other communities also duplicated their texts, but for use on the same site (cf. Webber, *Salisbury*, p. 41).

¹⁴⁴ 'The Diffusion of Augustine's *Confessions* in England during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', J. Blair and B. Golding (eds.), *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 29-45, p. 36, n. 38 (see further chapter 6 below).

foundation, its replication (presumably) there makes it an example of a book which moved from Wales to Gloucester.

The case of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* is more complicated: Llanthony seemingly embarked in the 1130s on a project to produce a second copy of this lengthy text. OTC 39 (s. xiiⁱⁿ) contains books I-X of the *Moralia*.¹⁴⁵ From a generation later (s. xii^{2/4}) survive two more *Moralia* volumes: a second copy of books I-X (LP 56) and one of books XI-XXII (OTC 40), both copied as part of the spate of production which followed Llanthony's move to Gloucester.

Finally, the early-thirteenth-century LP 152 contains a second copy of books XI-XXII. Textual collation demonstrates a relationship between the two copies of books XI-XXII, which share a number of variant readings: OTC 40 is therefore very likely to have been the exemplar for LP 152.¹⁴⁶ This manuscript is, consequently, a probable example of in-house book production at Llanthony in the early 1200s. Equally, OTC 39 is unlikely to have been the exemplar for LP 56. This raises a number of points: LP 56 could have been copied from an outside exemplar (demonstrating a relationship with another community) or from another Llanthony copy since lost. The seemingly obvious exemplar, OTC 39, may still have been at Llanthony Prima when LP 56 was made.

The third example of duplication proven by textual collation, the copy of an abridgement of Peter of Poitiers's *Sententiae* (WCL, F.50; s. xiiiⁱⁿ) made from the Llanthony manuscript LP 142 (fos. 1-119; s. xii^{ex}), is slightly different because the copy left Llanthony for Worcester at an indeterminate point and may not therefore have been intended to extend Llanthony's own collection. This example does though demonstrate the replication of an externally-acquired scholastic text in a local context.

The secure, datable examples of replication provided by Llanthony's *Confessiones* and *Moralia* manuscripts suggest that duplication was a response to events affecting the community. The earliest *Confessiones* manuscript was

¹⁴⁵ Two further volumes (seemingly lost) would have been required to hold the remainder of the text.

¹⁴⁶ See appendix 3 for a sample collation.

duplicated in the years following the establishment of Llanthony Secunda, perhaps to provide one copy for each Llanthony site. The duplication of books XI-XXII of the *Moralia* occurred around the time of the formal separation of the Llanthonies and may again have been motivated by the need to divide the community's property (this time officially) between two henceforth-independent sites. Augustine and Gregory are the authors most likely to have been prioritised for copying for the second community and, later, to have been thought necessary for both communities to own following their division.

Several other manuscripts of c.1150-c.1250 duplicate works already in Llanthony's possession. Their texts have not, as yet, been collated; it is therefore currently uncertain whether they were copied from an earlier Llanthony manuscript. A number of observations might nonetheless be made. Duplication may have begun with early manuscripts – the oldest book linked to Llanthony, LP 377 (s. ix^{2/4}), contains Isidore's *De Summo bono*, which is also found in LP 380 (fos. 1-120) (s. xii^{ex}), a book associated with Llanthony Prima. Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae* also first appears in a book pre-dating the flight from Wales (Bodley 839) and again in the late twelfth century.¹⁴⁷ It is therefore possible that the literary resources of the very early community were subsequently duplicated for the daughter-house or, in view of the known removal of books from Wales to Gloucester, the early copy reached Llanthony Secunda and was subsequently duplicated in order to be re-imported to the revived mother-house.¹⁴⁸

In addition to the *Moralia*, other manuscripts whose script indicates that they were produced as part of the copying programme following the relocation to Gloucester were duplicated later in our period. Unsurprisingly, Augustine was a popular candidate for replication: *Contra Felicianum*, for example, was copied first in s. xii^{2/4} and again in s. xii²¹⁴⁹ and *Sermo de utilitate agende penitentie* appears in LP 372 (fos. 42-82^v) (s. xii^{2/4}) and LP 149 (s. xii^{ex}). Copies of

¹⁴⁷ LP 138.

¹⁴⁸ This might be supported by the (albeit late medieval) Llanthony Prima connection of LP 380 (fos. 1-120).

¹⁴⁹ LP MSS 365 (fos. 120-228), 215.

Anselm's *Proslogion* survive from the mid and late 1100s.¹⁵⁰ There are two later-twelfth-century copies of Augustine's *De fide et symbolo*,¹⁵¹ whilst the early-thirteenth-century manuscript Royal 5 B.i adds a second copy of several of Augustine's works.¹⁵² The latest potential example of duplication may be John of Cornwall's *De homine assumpto* - as Llanthony's are two of the three extant copies, it is likely that the earlier was the exemplar for the later.¹⁵³ The duplication of texts in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries suggests that the revival of communal life at Llanthony Prima stimulated the need for books for use there. These candidates for duplication follow the themes apparent in the acquisitions of c.1150-c.1250: eminent theological authorities. An exception might be the sermons of Geoffrey Babio, a lesser authority, found first in s. xii^{2/4-med} and again in the early 1200s.¹⁵⁴

This summary of Llanthony's known and potential deployment of its books as exemplars for further copies demonstrates that in-house copying continued there into the early 1200s. Reproducing the whole collection was impractical, thus the texts replicated would be those considered essential. This meant theology: Llanthony did not apparently use self-copying to extend its limited holdings of other subject areas, but to extend its fairly strong theological resources.¹⁵⁵

In contrast to these books, manuscripts holding certain classes of text were certainly not produced by Llanthony's canons themselves. This brings to the fore the issue of Llanthony's potential use of professional producers and adds a somewhat vexed facet to an attempt to reconstruct its book acquisition practices at this time. Evidence for the involvement of professional scribes in manuscript production at or for ecclesiastical centres in England during the Romanesque

¹⁵⁰ LP 356 (fos. 176-283), 431 (fos. 161-82).

¹⁵¹ LP 215, 372 (fos. 1-41).

¹⁵² Duplicating *De quantitate anime* (OCCC 194; s. xii^{2/4}); *De spiritu et anima* (LP 431 [fos. 1-7, 16-88]; s. xii^{ex}); *De libero arbitrio* (LP 372 [42-82^v]; s. xii^{2/4}) and the pseudonymous *Ad inquisitiones Iamarii* (LP 372 [fos. 1-41]; s. xii²).

¹⁵³ LP 122 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ), LP 80 (s. xiii).

¹⁵⁴ LP MSS 391, 165 (fos. 102-90). James (*Catalogue*) notes that the order of Babio's sermons in the latter is irregular; were it also in LP 391, duplication would seem likely.

¹⁵⁵ This picture may be distorted by survival rates, which may be poorer for non-theological work. Indeed, H460 records that Llanthony had, by c.1350, duplicate copies of texts in more unusual areas. These may have been acquired by individuals rather than as part of the mainstream collecting policy.

period is scarce.¹⁵⁶ Although St. Albans, Durham and Abingdon hired professionals at an early date,¹⁵⁷ their employment required a financial outlay which was unfeasible at poorer centres in the earlier twelfth century.¹⁵⁸

Llanthony's circumstances in the first half of the twelfth century and the simple appearance of its books of that time militate against its use of professional producers then.¹⁵⁹ Relocation would have made professionals more accessible to the priory and its increased wealth post-1136 meant that funds were potentially available to employ external workers. Gullick proposed that religious communities may have employed professionals to meet a particularly pressing need for books,¹⁶⁰ such as might have been felt at Llanthony in the generation after 1136. However, the cohesiveness and appearance of the 'Llanthony hand' books produced during that generation favours an in-house origin for them. It was probably not until the later twelfth century that Llanthony Secunda's circumstances were suited to the employment of professionals.

Should it have so desired, Llanthony Secunda may not have had too much difficulty accessing the services of professional producers. Although there is no evidence for the presence of a professional scribe in Gloucester in the twelfth

¹⁵⁶ M. Gullick, 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century England', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, ed. P. Beal and J. Griffiths, 7, (London, 1998), pp. 1-24, p. 1. However, Gullick concludes that their contribution to book production in Romanesque England may not have been negligible and that not all books written in/for enclosed communities may have been written by community members (*ibid.*, p. 15). Contrast this with Ker's assessment that, although available, the professional scribe's services were not often required in 'great monastic scriptoria' (*English MSS*, p. 1). The rise of urban-based professional illuminators occurred from the end of the 1100s: M. Gullick, 'The Illuminator of Gloucester', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, ed. P. Beal and J. Griffiths, 5, (London, 1995), pp. 209-13, p. 209.

¹⁵⁷ Gullick, 'Professional Scribes', pp. 6-10.

¹⁵⁸ Hereford exemplifies the difficulties of the argument: the infrequency of book acquisition there and the unimpressive appearance and internal features of its books favour production in-house; conversely, Thomson believes that the small number of manuscripts at Hereford before c.1200 renders it unlikely that there was a 'scriptorium' there during the 1100s (*Hereford*, p. xix). The alternative would be for the cathedral to have employed the professional scribes, painters and parchmenters recorded in Hereford during the 1100s and 1200s (*ibid.*).

¹⁵⁹ Books produced by 'professionals' should be of sufficiently high standard to merit payment. Poor-quality books have been interpreted as an indication of home production - cf. N.R. Ker, 'The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library', *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to R.W. Hunt*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson, (Oxford, 1976), pp. 23-49, p. 23.

¹⁶⁰ 'Professional Scribes', p. 15.

century, such professionals worked at nearby centres such as Cirencester.¹⁶¹ There is evidence for the activity of a professional illuminator in Gloucester in the later twelfth century: a *Thome illuminatori* was granted land by Thomas Hamlin (abbot of Gloucester 1179-1205). As the surviving chirograph does not suggest that Thomas the illuminator was an abbey servant, he was, presumably, a lay professional.¹⁶² It is not impossible that he was also a scribe.¹⁶³ Two manuscripts indicate that Gloucester Abbey used professional producers in the 1100s.¹⁶⁴ Llanthony could also have used those professionals recorded in Hereford in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As a less well-off community, Llanthony might have hired scribes on a short-term basis as needed.¹⁶⁵

Unfortunately, the type of documentary evidence that indicates the involvement of other communities with professional producers does not survive from this point in Llanthony's history. Whether Llanthony's books were cared for by a precentor and, if so, whether he had funds and powers for the purchase of books equivalent to those documented elsewhere is unknown.¹⁶⁶ Some precentors were also authors, although it is unlikely that the same applied at Llanthony, whose known house-authors were priors.¹⁶⁷ It is therefore only through Llanthony's books that the priory's involvement with professional producers can be gauged. Only inscriptions and marks therein prove a Llanthony connection and it is hard to know when such volumes reached the priory. The origin of none of the

¹⁶¹ Three Cirencester books contain the hand of Ralph of Pullham, *scriptor*, almost certainly a professional working in the 1150s and 60s (*ibid.*, p. 11).

¹⁶² Gloucester, Gloucester Cathedral, Archives of the Dean and Chapter, ch.V.3a (Gullick, 'Illuminator of Gloucester', p. 209).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹⁶⁴ The drawing of the vision of John Chrysostom in HCL O.V.11 is by an artist who worked for other houses in south-western England and who must have been an itinerant professional (Thomson, 'Gloucester', p. 7, n. 31; Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, p. 36. His *chef d'oeuvre* is the Shaftsbury Psalter [BL, Lansdowne 383]). Probably from Gloucester is Pierpont Morgan M.777 (the Mostyn Gospels), which contains miniatures undoubtedly by a professional.

¹⁶⁵ Other communities employed professional/external scribes on a *pro tempore* basis in the 1100s (e.g. Abingdon: Gullick, 'Professional Scribes', p. 10).

¹⁶⁶ Llanthony's ongoing programme of book acquisition in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries strongly suggests some sort of co-ordinator. This could well have been a precentor (as was so at Llanthony in the later medieval period). At valuable local parallels, including Hereford and Gloucester, the precentor was allocated funds in order to produce books, which could potentially have been used to employ outsiders (*ibid.*, pp. 1-6). Abbot Simon of St. Albans personally employed professional scribes to work for him between 1167 and 1183, supported by his own resources (*ibid.*, p. 11).

¹⁶⁷ Apart from John of Llanthony (sub-prior). Orderic Vitalis, Eadmer of Canterbury, William of Malmesbury and Symeon of Durham were precentors in their communities (*ibid.*, pp. 1-2).

probable external acquisitions of this period is known; potentially useful information about Llanthony's links with other centres of book production therefore remains hidden. Let us now consider the relevant books.

Glossed books of the Bible, a significant group within the acquisitions of this period, were certainly not made by the Llanthony canons themselves. The complexity of such texts and their natural origin in the limited number of urban centres that supported a school or university meant that they were usually copied by professional scribes. Although the erudition of several twelfth-century Llanthony priors is demonstrated by their own compositions, Robert de Béthune is the only Llanthony canon known to have undertaken scholastic study in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, whilst Prior William of Wycombe was a *magister*.¹⁶⁸ They are therefore the only known potential conduits between Llanthony and the academic milieu. However, as nothing is known about nearly all of Llanthony's canons in this period, it remains possible that an unidentified canon-scholar brought glossed Biblical books (and other scholastic texts) to Llanthony. Robert de Béthune's French education, not to mention his connection with Anselm of Laon and the travel necessitated by his later episcopal duties, makes it possible that he owned glossed Biblical books, which he might have brought with him to or given to the priory. Four of Llanthony's twelfth-century glossed books are of northern French origin; their dates (s. xii^{1-med}) just permit the possibility of an association with Robert (d. 1148).¹⁶⁹ Intriguingly, LP 164 contains two initials in the variation of the 'Llanthony fringed style' that is found in two probable in-house Llanthony products.¹⁷⁰ The appearance in a manuscript written in France of a style otherwise associated with Llanthony's home-made books,¹⁷¹ plus the facts that the book's initials may be later additions (they ill fit their allocated spaces) and that the display-script does not look French, suggests that the manuscript was not decorated until it arrived at Llanthony. If so, LP 164

¹⁶⁸ *Life*, ed. Parkinson, p. 48.

¹⁶⁹ LP MSS 349, 231, 170, 164. The decoration of these books is unspectacular in comparison to, and in contrast to, that in Llanthony's other glossed MSS. This may result from their slightly earlier date. For example, LP 170 opens with a fine *Beatus* initial featuring white and tinted branch-work and beast-heads, plain against a multi-coloured panelled ground. Other initials in the book are similar, including one formed of a dragon (f. 117). These initials are in the Norman tradition seen also in some earlier twelfth century books of Llanthony provenance.

¹⁷⁰ Fos. iii^v, 24^f (plate XIX).

¹⁷¹ OQC 309, LP 119.

reached Llanthony soon after manufacture, in time to be decorated in a style used in in-house books of the later 1100s. Even when not writing its own books, therefore, Llanthony might nonetheless have been involved in aspects of their manufacture.¹⁷²

Other Llanthony glossed books have connections closer to home. One can be tentatively localised. M.R. James believed that LP 102's writing and ornament suggest St. Albans as its place of production.¹⁷³ Recent work has not confirmed this theory.¹⁷⁴ However, LP 102 was decorated by an artist associated with St. Albans, the 'Simon Master', who executed four of its initials.¹⁷⁵ LP 102 also contains a rare representation of the Evangelists or Evangelist-symbols as a tetramorph.¹⁷⁶ How LP 102 reached Llanthony is unknown.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Thomson speculates that the acquisition of similarly-early glossed books in continental script at Hereford might have been motivated by Hereford's twelfth-century continentally-trained bishops, including Robert de Béthune. He considers that continental script in some such volumes need not mean a non-Hereford origin, as binding and decoration indicate that some are local products, and French-educated clerics might continue to write a 'French' hand once in England (*Hereford*, p. xviii). Another MS of Llanthony provenance from this period, Lincoln's Inn, Hale 91 (85) (*Historia Scholastica*; c.1200) was also written in France.

¹⁷³ *Catalogue*. Salient features include imitation marble in its decoration, an initial in which the heads of the four Evangelist creatures share one body (plate XXIX) and green edging of initials and ornaments.

¹⁷⁴ Thomson, *St. Albans*, pp. 127 (no. 94), 129 (n. 26).

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 127. The Simon Master and his assistants did not work solely at St. Albans. Their work in both England and France has caused the decoration associated with them to be termed 'Channel-style'. Although the Simon Master may have been French, his style was soon adopted by English craftsmen (*ibid.*, p. 54). Incidentally, Thomson notes that the Simon master was fond of half-length figures of prelates blessing or holding a scroll/book. Heavily influenced by Byzantine portraiture, their features are modelled in green with the forehead and cheeks highlighted by spots of pink (*ibid.*, pp. 54-5). A historiated initial in the Llanthony book CCCC 390 (c.1200) showing Archbishop Geoffrey of York is reminiscent of this (plate XXXI). The colours (gold, rose, blue) and style (white highlighting) resemble other west-country initials in sub-Channel-style.

¹⁷⁶ Elizabeth Parker McLachlan ('The Pembroke College New Testament and a Group of Unusual English Evangelist-symbols', *Gesta* XIV/I (1975), pp. 3-18, pp. 9-10) notes that relatively few representations of Evangelists or Evangelist-symbols-as-tetramorph survive. With one possible exception, all of the examples that she has found belong or are related to English MSS from s. xii^{2/4} or ^{3/4}-s. xiiiⁱⁿ. The MSS concerned originated at or are related to St. Albans, Winchester or Canterbury. The basic group of English/English-related images of tetramorphic Evangelist symbols comprises CTC, B.5.3 (St. Albans, c.1200); Winchester Cathedral Library MS VIII (s. xii^{med}); formerly Camarillo (California), St. John's Seminary, Edward Lawrence Doheny Memorial Library MS 7 (s. xii^{med}) (now sold); Avesnes-sur-Helpe, Société Archeologique et Historique, one of two detached folios originally belonging to the gospel-book of Wedric of Liessies (made 1124-47) and our MS, LP 102. James suggested a St. Albans origin for LP 102 on the basis of similarities between it and CTC B.5.3 (*ibid.*, p. 11, n. 49).

¹⁷⁷ LP 111 (s. xiii^{ex}) was also linked to St. Albans before being bought by Llanthony's canon Richard Calne in s. xvⁱⁿ (see chapter 9).

The remainder of Llanthony's glossed books exhibit various decorative styles, none of which decisively determines their origin. Of English manufacture appears to be the glossed Psalter LP 63, which has high-quality initials employing gold, colours and a dragon. A silver initial encloses a half-length beardless figure holding a blank scroll and pointing at *ps dauid* in the text; it presumably, therefore, represents David. James classes this initial as English work.¹⁷⁸

The fine glossed Psalter (with appended Clement of Llanthony text) Bodl., Auct. D.2.1 contains fully-illuminated initials to four Psalms.¹⁷⁹ Morgan notes that draperies therein may reflect influence from Mosan or North French painting.¹⁸⁰ There is also some stylistic connection to the slightly earlier Bible Bodl., Laud Misc. 752.¹⁸¹ This may suggest a west-country/West Midlands origin for our manuscript. A contemporary book with similar decoration, OTC 58, also contains a Clement of Llanthony text, but there is no indication of its origin or early provenance.¹⁸² These similarities may indicate that these books were decorated in the same professional workshop. In addition, the text of Auct. D.2.1 is similar to that of a manuscript from Reading, Auct. D.4.6, which was probably prepared for Roger (Reading's abbot 1158-65). It and Auct. D.2.1 are the only English manuscripts with this type of gloss and layout.¹⁸³ Their layout is unlike that of other Gilbert de la Porrée books and their gloss, which is not exactly Gilbert's, is broken into interlinear fragments: only their Psalter summaries and prologues derive directly from Gilbert's text. They represent, therefore, special adaptations of Gilbert's text and layout.¹⁸⁴ Given that the Reading book was

¹⁷⁸ *Catalogue*. F. 143^v (plate XXX). Figural representation such as this is rare in Llanthony MSS and generally limited to historiated initials (e.g. LP MSS 378, 195, 218, 63; CCCC 390; Auct. D.2.1; OCCC 59 [marginal drawings]. Plates IX, XIV, XXX, XXXI, XXVI).

¹⁷⁹ Plate XXVI.

¹⁸⁰ *Early Gothic MSS*, no. 8, for this and what follows.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* records that Laud Misc. 752 has links with Buildwas; however it is not mentioned by J.M. Sheppard, *The Buildwas Books: Book Production, Acquisition and Use at an English Cistercian Monastery 1165-c.1400* (Oxford, 1997).

¹⁸² Morgan, *Early Gothic MSS; MLGB*. OTC 58 (s. xii^{3/4}) is a Psalter with Gilbert de la Porrée's gloss and fine historiated initials; that on f. 180 is very similar to one in Auct. D.2.1 (f. 147^v) (plate XXVI). It was given by Thomas Walden (d.1430) to the Carmelite Convent in London (Alexander and Temple, *Illuminated MSS in Oxford College Libraries*, no. 88).

¹⁸³ Coates, *Reading*, pp. xx-xxi.

¹⁸⁴ De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, p. 20 n. 37.

apparently made especially for Abbot Roger, might the Llanthony book have been a gift to or commissioned by a Llanthony prior?¹⁸⁵

Manuscripts of some glossed books contain decoration reminiscent of that in other books of Llanthony provenance.¹⁸⁶ The initials opening three of the Biblical books in LP 114 are a mixture of 'flat-colour' and tinted work, beautifully executed. Most interestingly, the initial *A* at the beginning of Judith (f. 57) is nearly identical in style and form to one in LP 119 (f. 7^r; plate XXII), an in-house product. This indicates that influences crossed between monastic and professional producers. Alternatively, LP 114 was written professionally but this initial was added at Llanthony.¹⁸⁷ LP 114 also illustrates a transition to a heavier, more elaborate decorative style that is used in some other of Llanthony's later twelfth-century books. Its opening initial surrounds plain and tinted foliage against a coloured ground, in a manner similar to Norman-influenced earlier Llanthony books, yet it is distanced from previously-considered examples by the facts that the letter is gold, the foliage and grounds are of superior design and execution, and the external ground is sprinkled with triplets of white dots.¹⁸⁸ Other glossed books also demonstrate a mixture or 'hierarchy' of styles.¹⁸⁹

Four of Llanthony's twelfth-century glossed books contain decoration in a style found also in other books of west-country provenance, described by Thomson as a gold letter outlined with black set against a (usually) blue ground with serrated or scalloped edges, sometimes also with some pink, and sprinkled with triplets of

¹⁸⁵ De Hamel (*ibid.*) suggests Clement of Llanthony, an attractive proposition given Clement's known scholarly inclinations and the inscription in Auct. D.2.1 that mentions him; however Auct. D.2.1 is too late (c.1190-1200) to be connected with Clement (d. post-1169/c.1174). Prior Geoffrey of Hennelawe (c.1189-1203), also known to have been involved with books, is a more likely candidate.

¹⁸⁶ E.g. LP 343 (f.1: initial of intersecting 'jigsaw' design; f. 70: arabesqued *E*).

¹⁸⁷ Cf. LP 164, a French glossed book containing an initial in a style found otherwise in Llanthony's in-house products (p. 87 above).

¹⁸⁸ F. 1^r (plate XXV).

¹⁸⁹ E.g. LP 153 (fos. 1-6, 7-88) has a gold initial against a buff background, embellished with fleur-de-lys and enclosing delicate, tinted foliage against plain vellum (f. 8). LP 110 has, opening Exodus, a gold letter outlined in red with gold foliage emanating from its ascenders, against a solid blue ground. Emanating from the letter is twisting uncoloured foliage highlighted in red and green (f. 1^r). A grand, gold letter opens other MSS, but lower-key initials mark subsequent textual divisions (e.g. LP 85).

white dots.¹⁹⁰ The other books in which it is found are earlier (s. xii^{med}) than the Llanthony ones and are of Hereford, Worcester and west-country origin.¹⁹¹

Thomson suggests an in-house origin for these four Llanthony books, but they seem more likely to be professional products. That the other books containing this style are attributable to nearby monastic centres of production might suggest a local artist working at more than one house. This style is echoed in Auct D.2.1, in which the drapery of the blessing Christ is studded with triplets of white dots.¹⁹² Thomson identifies some books on the fringes of this group which lack certain of its distinctive features; to these might be added the Llanthony volume LP 134, which contains a gold initial whose internal red ground and external serrated blue ground are highlighted by single small white circles rather than by triplets of dots.¹⁹³

Books such as these, containing complicated and scholastic texts, and whose conception and execution is a leap upwards from in-house products, favour Llanthony's use of professional producers in the later 1100s. An itinerant professional could be a means by which styles of decoration spread between centres¹⁹⁴ and this might explain the regional types of initial found in some of Llanthony's glossed biblical books. Two of these books may have been created by a mixture of professional and in-house personnel.¹⁹⁵ Exactly how these volumes reached Llanthony Secunda (for none is linked to Prima) is unclear, but they represent a significant financial outlay by the community or by associated individuals.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁰ LP 63, 81, 85 and 110 (all s. xii^{ex} or s. xii/xiii). 'Minor MS Decoration', pp. 21-3, fig. 4a, pl. 2 for this and what follows.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* for shelfmarks.

¹⁹² Plate XXVI.

¹⁹³ F. 98^r (plate XXIV). Thomson cites initials in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.777 (the Mostyn Gospels; Gloucester?), which lack the gold, and HCL O.VI.12 (probably written in France but decorated locally: Hereford? [Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, p. 45]), which lacks the serrated edges and white dots. Pierpont Morgan M.777 contains miniatures, probably by a 'professional', which cannot be localised, as well as the 'west-country' initials (Thomson, 'Gloucester', pp. 7, 22). Incidentally, the tetramorph initial in the Llanthony book decorated by the Simon Master (LP 102, f. 7^v) is flecked by both triplets of white dots and by small white circles, although the other features of Thomson's Style 1 are absent; likewise the Llanthony volume Auct D.2.1 (f. 80) (white circles only).

¹⁹⁴ Gullick, 'Professional Scribes', p. 1.

¹⁹⁵ LP MSS 114, 164.

¹⁹⁶ Glossed Biblical books were often donated to religious communities; were this so with any of these volumes, Llanthony's connection with the producers of the relevant MSS may have been indirect.

How Llanthony obtained the remainder of its later-twelfth- and earlier-thirteenth-century books is hard to ascertain. The decoration of the majority, which provides clarity and textual articulation rather than splendour of appearance, does not look like the work of professionals. Judging origin by physical appearance is hard because these books are more physically diverse than those from, say, the second-to-third quarters of the twelfth century. Other manuscripts coeval with the 'Llanthony hand' books and their outlying relations (*s.* xii^{2/4-med}) diverge in appearance from them. The script of LP 218 (Gregory), for example, does not resemble the 'Llanthony hand' and although 'minor boss-style' initials are used, the striking opening initial is in a light, tinted style and much more elaborate than those of the 'Llanthony hand' group. Early care taken over the volume's upkeep is likely to have occurred in-house.¹⁹⁷ The earliest manuscript of the Béthune *vita* (LP 475; *s.* xii^{med}), on the basis of its content certainly an in-house product, does not share the 'Llanthony hand' script style. The opening initial in LP 195 (Priscian; *s.* xii^{med}) has terminals interlaced in a style similar to Carolingian manuscripts.¹⁹⁸ However, there are some traces of continuity with earlier Llanthony books: LP 196 (Priscian) features initials composed of uncoloured foliage against coloured grounds, in the manner of OTC 39 and LP 378 (*s.* xiiⁱⁿ), whilst the mid-century Psalter LP 540 contains a variant of the 'major boss-style' initial. From c.1160, CUL, Dd.10.25 (Ambrose/Isidore) features familiar scalloped and 'minor' and 'major boss-style' designs.¹⁹⁹ OCCC 43 (*s.* xii^{ex}-xiiiⁱⁿ) contains an initial very similar to the 'Llanthony fringed style'.²⁰⁰

Where, then, were books such as these made? Produced when Llanthony had an active scriptorium, they are sufficiently similar to its core books to have been manufactured in the same milieu, yet their appearance is not so close as to prove this. All that militates against their in-house production is their physical divergence from the homogenous books previously proposed as the work of Llanthony's scriptorium. However, it is feasible that, over the generation that the

¹⁹⁷ The original part (fos. 4-63) was corrected in *s.* xii², shortly after which the contents list and opening page of text (fos. 1-3) were re-done and the original decorated initial (f. 3^v) was salvaged and pasted on to the new text (the join between the two remains visible).

¹⁹⁸ P. Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff, 2003), p. 94.

¹⁹⁹ Fos. 7^r, 58^r, 151^r (plate XX).

²⁰⁰ F. 56^r.

‘Llanthony hand’ books were produced (and beyond), other volumes were also manufactured at Llanthony, but not by, perhaps, the core group of scribes and artists responsible for that homogenous group. Books could have been made on the personal impetus of community members or by new canons capable of scribal duty but not trained in the discipline of Llanthony’s scriptorium.²⁰¹ The acceptance of books of varying appearance as in-house products may temper perceptions about the nature of Llanthony’s scriptorium, allowing that not all of its products were of tightly controlled appearance. After all, permitting the greatest range of producers to operate would have quickened production, thereby meeting the needs created by the community’s bifurcation. LP 152 (a *Moralia* volume, discussed above, that was copied from the priory’s own earlier manuscript of the same text) exemplifies Llanthony’s continued manufacture of books in-house in the early 1200s. Volumes of Llanthony provenance that similarly contain patristic texts and biblical commentaries are also likely candidates for home production: these were fairly straightforward to copy and Llanthony had a history of producing such texts in-house and of acquiring exemplars for them, from both inside and outside of its own collection. In-house copying is therefore feasible for coeval books of this nature. It is also possible that some books were produced under Llanthony’s aegis by borrowed scribes. Perhaps the most that may be concluded at the current stage of research is that, for books of Llanthony provenance for which there is no evidence of a different origin, the possibility remains that they were produced by Llanthony itself.

Despite the difficulties of ascertaining the origin of many of Llanthony’s later-twelfth- and earlier-thirteenth-century books, a number of signs indicate an early Llanthony provenance for some of these volumes.

A contemporary *ex libris* inscription is the surest indication of early Llanthony provenance. Unfortunately, Llanthony did not habitually inscribe marks of ownership into its books.²⁰² On the contrary, the entry of an *ex libris* appears to have been rather haphazard. For example, only one ‘Llanthony hand’ book

²⁰¹ Some small books in close ‘academic’ script may be the personal compilation of individual canons.

²⁰² In contrast to (for example) Cirencester (Gullick, ‘Professional Scribes’, p. 11) and Reading, most of whose twelfth-century MSS bear thirteenth-century *ex libris* (Coates, *Reading*, p. 53).

contains one, in which whilst anathema is threatened for anyone removing the volume from Llanthony, which Llanthony is not specified.²⁰³ The same (contemporary) scribe wrote identically-worded inscriptions in LP 106 (s. xii^{med}) and OQC 309 (c.1150-60).²⁰⁴ Perhaps unsurprisingly, given Llanthony Secunda's supposed temporary nature, these inscriptions allow on-going joint stewardship of books. That this consistent wording is limited to three books indicates that it results from the personal initiative of this scribe. The impression of uniformity given by these three books is spoilt by the contemporary *ex libris* in LP 391 (s. xii^{3/4}), which specifies the ownership of Llanthony Secunda: *Liber Lanthonie iuxta Gloucestriam*.²⁰⁵ This may hint at the emergence of a separate identity for Llanthony Secunda.²⁰⁶ Several implications of these *ex libris* are intriguing but unresolved: whether the form of wording always reflects institutional or personal choice; whether an *ex libris* specifying Llanthony Prima or Secunda had any force before 1205; and whether such inscriptions were simply designed to identify the house to which the volume belonged, or to distinguish more particularly between the two priories.

Notably, however, these *ex libris* appear in manuscripts which are all, stylistically, good candidates for in-house production at Llanthony. An *ex libris* therefore confirms rather than suggests their presence there. Early inscriptions add to the stylistic case for local production by showing that these books were at Llanthony from an early date. By contrast, a contemporary *ex libris* in a book of uncertain origin would be valuable evidence that the book had reached the priory soon after manufacture. Unfortunately, contemporary and early *ex libris* are rare in such books of this period. An exception, LP 215 (s. xii²), is given a comparatively early Llanthony provenance by the thirteenth-century note *Memoriale de Lantonia* (f. i) which, despite post-dating the separation, does not specify a particular priory.²⁰⁷ In the (few) other cases in which an *ex libris* is

²⁰³ LP 189.

²⁰⁴ *LIBeR Lanthonien/sis ecclesie. Qui eum Deti/mueRit : Anathema sit. Plates XVII-XVIII. Cf. <http://www.queens.ox.ac.uk/library/ms/descriptions/309.pdf>.*

²⁰⁵ F.1^r (plate XVI) (as does that in LP 339 [f. 174^v]).

²⁰⁶ The *ex libris* in CUL, Dd.10.25 (c.1160) also specifies Llanthony Secunda, but probably post-dates the division of the community.

²⁰⁷ Some books in this category have early *ex dono* inscriptions (see below).

found in a book of c.1150-c.1250, it is a much later addition.²⁰⁸ There was evidently no fixed form of *ex libris* at Llanthony, just as there was no fixed custom of including one. A number of situations could have prompted the addition of an *ex libris*: perhaps the book had just arrived at Llanthony (an explanation which does not suit the in-house products which contain one) or had changed location (or was about to) - moving perhaps between the Llanthonies, accompanying a student to Oxford or being lent to someone.

Five books of this period contain a distinctive title written in black and preceded by an elaborate black paraph-mark, the whole flourished in red. This may indicate a common provenance.²⁰⁹ The volumes in question (LP MSS 81, 85, 208, 343, 349) all contain glossed biblical books and range in date from s. xii¹-s. xii/xiii. The titles themselves date from c.1200.²¹⁰ The origin of these books remains unknown but is unlikely to be identical: LP 349 is, for example, northern French, whereas others feature decoration which indicates a more local beginning.²¹¹ If these five volumes came to Llanthony (as a donation?) from a single source (as glossed books often did), these titles might have been entered before they reached the priory. At any rate, they indicate that books probably of disparate origins were in the same place at an early stage (indeed, for LP 81, almost as soon as it was made) and, as they all have a firm later-medieval Llanthony Secunda provenance, it is feasible that this place was the priory.

Neil Ker recognised that a number of books of Llanthony provenance contain distinctive scratchy pencil or ink numbering in the lower margin, numbering books, chapters, psalms and sometimes leaves.²¹² The relevant books date from the early twelfth to the thirteenth (not late) centuries and all contain theology.²¹³ Their brevity renders these marks hard to date. However, a thirteenth-century date might be proposed, firstly because they appear in books whose dates range

²⁰⁸ E.g. Hale 91 (85) (c.1200) contains a fourteenth-century *ex libris* of Llanthony Secunda.

²⁰⁹ Plate XXVII.

²¹⁰ Ker, *MLGB*, p. 109, n. 6.

²¹¹ LP 81 and LP 85 contain west-country-style initials.

²¹² 'Sancroft's Rearrangement of the Manuscripts of Lambeth Palace', p. 11, n. 1.

²¹³ Royal 5.B.i (fos. 20-41); LP MSS 29, 56, 61 (fos. 1-117), 77, 81, 85, 102, 110, 119, 134 (fos. 97-245), 153 (fos. 7-88), 161, 164, 335 (fos. 1-228), 343; Bodl. Auct. D.2.1; OCCC 139; OTC 39, 40, 69.

across Llanthony's history up to this point but in none thereafter and, secondly, because the addition of such organisational features to earlier books is consistent with thirteenth-century practices.²¹⁴ Were this date accurate, it would provide for a number of books a useful indication of early association with Llanthony.²¹⁵ In any case, it supports other evidence for a Llanthony provenance for these volumes and is an example of both continuing interest in them and management of the book collection.

Individual impetus also played a role in Llanthony's accrual of books between c.1150 and c.1250. Volumes donated by individuals are likely to reflect the donor's personal interests or needs and might therefore include more specialised texts than were collected for the community as a whole. The contribution of donated books should not be viewed as the result of a deliberate attempt to gain more manuscripts, but as that of the scholarly tendencies and personal munificence of individuals.

Contemporary evidence shows that other religious communities also benefited from the donation of books. Both Lincoln and Hereford - which, like Llanthony, were (re)establishing themselves in the post-Conquest period - received donations from prominent community members.²¹⁶ Glossed biblical books predominate amongst these gifts, indicating a custom for high-ranking, continentally-educated clerics to supply their community with books.²¹⁷ At Llanthony there is little evidence that the twelfth- and earlier-thirteenth-century priors were significant donors. One extant volume was the gift of prior Geoffrey

²¹⁴ Caution is necessary, as the example of Morgan of Carmarthen shows: the latest books that he annotated are s. xiii-xiv, yet palaeographical dating of his inscriptions (a luxury lacking here) demonstrates that he was actually active over a century later (see chapter 9).

²¹⁵ For example, the earliest association with Llanthony for one of the books in which this numbering appears (LP 134 [fos. 97-245]) is otherwise its inclusion in H460 (s. xiv^{med}).

²¹⁶ At Hereford, Archdeacon Ralph Foliot gave twenty volumes, including glossed biblical books - a modern bequest which may reflect his educational background (Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, p. xviii). At Lincoln, donations are known from several high-ranking community members. The most generous were from Bishops Alexander (1123-48) and Robert de Chesney (1148-66) (Thomson, *Lincoln*, p. xv).

²¹⁷ Conversely, only one extant twelfth-century Gloucester book bears an inscription associating it with a community member (Thomson, 'Gloucester', p. 15).

of Hennelawe (c.1185 x 89-1203).²¹⁸ Although early priors such as Ernisius, Robert de Béthune, Robert de Braci, William of Wycombe and Clement were learned men, they did not apparently bestow large numbers of books upon their community. In the cases of Ernisius and Robert de Béthune, this is perhaps because they entered Llanthony when it was a hermitage, although Robert had ample opportunity during his later episcopal career to give books to his erstwhile community.²¹⁹ However, despite the absence of extant volumes donated by these men, the manuscripts and entries in H460 containing their own work are a form of donation and certainly enriched their house's library. Furthermore, these scholarly twelfth-century priors were instrumental in overseeing the development of Llanthony's book collection fairly rapidly after the foundation of each priory and in maintaining that growth despite the vicissitudes of the 1100s.²²⁰

Llanthony did profit in this period from donations by individuals who cannot (perhaps only due to lack of evidence) be linked to the community. A label in the small glossed Psalter LP 540 reads *Psalterium Ivonis.*, suggesting an owner whose interest in the Psalms superseded the devotional. A thirteenth-century inscription in LP 63 (s. xii/xiii) (*Per R. Decani Psalterium petri Lumbardi Liber Lanthonie iuxta Gloucestr'.*) suggests that it came to Llanthony by personal initiative, perhaps via a university-educated canon. LP 122 bears an erased *Memoriale Lanton de Gloucestr. pro... de haimo.*

An interesting thirteenth-century donation to Llanthony Secunda is OCCC 59 (s. xiii^{med}). A verse reveals the book's donor, Walter Waldink of Staunton, Herefordshire.²²¹ In addition to Alan of Lille and Boethius, this volume contains short texts and verses, some in Middle English or French, some of local import.

²¹⁸ LP 195 (Priscian) (plate XIV). Any medical books that Geoffrey, a noted physician, gave to Llanthony are lost. As he died as a bishop rather than as Llanthony's prior, any books he bequeathed may have gone elsewhere.

²¹⁹ Possible candidates are the four twelfth-century French glossed books discussed above. Robert demonstrated his goodwill towards Llanthony in other ways, not least by finding land for its re-location.

²²⁰ H460 does record books donated by Llanthony's later priors. These donations were more recent and within communal memory, whereas donations by twelfth-century priors would by then have been forgotten unless attested by physical evidence in the relevant books.

²²¹ F. 3^r: *Rex regum riche kink/ lux dux princeps ouer al thing/ ffre Cuntis suete thing/ Walterum protege Waldink/ Qui me communi librum dedit utilitati* (s. xiii^{ex}). The Walding family was situated, from s. xiiiⁱⁿ, slightly west of Gloucester (Brown, 'A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript from Llanthony Priory', p. 588).

Alexander and Temple suggest that these texts were compiled in the thirteenth century by a master of Llanthony Secunda's grammar school.²²² This book supports other evidence that that school was active throughout the medieval period and provides a valuable insight into the sort of texts studied there. As the school was not a monastic but an urban establishment, to which Llanthony Secunda held the right of advowson, this book's contents may not reflect directly upon scholarship at Llanthony itself, but the fact that it ultimately joined its collection demonstrates the munificence of an external donor to the priory, which was seemingly thought an appropriate recipient.²²³

Llanthony Secunda's gain from the gift of books in this period was seemingly not, therefore, as great as Lincoln's or Hereford's.²²⁴ The formation of the priory's library was perhaps more of a community effort than at those houses. In addition, Llanthony's donors apparently gave only single volumes, in contrast to the benefactors of Hereford and Lincoln and to a major fourteenth-century donor to Llanthony.²²⁵

Following references to the presence of books and literate men at Llanthony Prima in its early years and the surviving books that may have formed part of its collection, there is little direct evidence concerning book provision and production there c.1150-c.1250. It is therefore tempting to suppose that the impetus for acquisition, having passed to Llanthony Secunda in the aftermath of its foundation, remained there. However, the few snippets of evidence are worthy of examination.

Although most of 'Llanthony's' production and acquisition of books between 1136 and c.1205 seems to have occurred at Secunda, the canons remaining at

²²² *Oxford College Libraries*, no. 231. Brown suggests that the book's connections with the Chapel of St. Kyneburg and with a schoolmaster might be explained if its owner were both master of Llanthony's grammar school and chaplain of St. Kyneburg's chapel ('A Thirteenth-Century MS from Llanthony Priory', pp. 594-5).

²²³ The grammar school hypothesis, if correct, raises the question of why the book was withdrawn from service: it is not decrepit through use; perhaps its contents had been superseded; perhaps it was the personal property of a pupil who removed it when he left.

²²⁴ There is no evidence that books were donated to Llanthony Prima at this time (the closest possibility is LP 431 (fos. 1-7, 16-88), discussed below, which belonged to one of its priors).

²²⁵ See chapter 8.

Prima probably also benefited. After all, it was intended that the canons at Gloucester would ultimately return to Wales, presumably with books acquired in the interim, and during the priorate of Clement of Llanthony (therefore until c.1170/74) the canons were forcibly domiciled at the Welsh site for part of each year.²²⁶ There was, consequently, a clear route via which books from Gloucester could reach Llanthony Prima: less vital books may have travelled between the houses. Books would presumably not, though, have been as plentiful at Prima as at Secunda: indeed, any volumes brought from the daughter-house may merely have served to restock the Welsh collection to its earlier levels following the haemorrhage of books to Gloucester from c.1136. In addition, the greater number of canons at Llanthony Secunda doubtless necessitated more books there. As we have seen, the presence of duplicate texts of this period in Llanthony's corpus suggests an effort to provide two copies of some works. Both houses may, therefore, have had constant access to a few important texts.²²⁷

However, the supposition that most books were acquired at Llanthony Secunda implies that, though duplicates and some other volumes might have been sent back to Llanthony Prima, it was receiving only the minimum requirements of a library.²²⁸ It also supposes that that Prima was dependent on its daughter-house for books.²²⁹ There is nothing to indicate whether Llanthony Prima acquired any books independently of Llanthony Secunda during this period and it is unclear whether production occurred there.²³⁰ Some of the aforementioned duplicates could have been copied in Wales, although this would require the presence there

²²⁶ The scholarly Clement's favouring of the Welsh site as a haven for study implies the presence of books there during his time.

²²⁷ Those who remained at Llanthony Prima may have been of a more ascetic nature than those who went to Gloucester and more inclined towards reading and study. The Welsh site, therefore, although portrayed as stagnating, may have had a greater need for books than might initially be thought.

²²⁸ In accordance with documentary evidence that Llanthony Prima was left only basic equipment, at least until its revival late in the century (Julius D.x; Roberts, *Some Account...*, p. 61).

²²⁹ A Hereford-made book donated to St. Guthlac's priory, Hereford (a cell of Gloucester Abbey that is unlikely to have made its own books) in the late 1100s may provide a parallel with Llanthony Prima, the smaller community receiving books from a larger relation (Thomson, 'Minor MS Decoration', p. 22; Thomson, 'Gloucester', p. 23 n. 13).

²³⁰ If so, it was probably *ad hoc* and dependent on the impetus of individual canons. The most likely candidate amongst the extant books is Julius D.x.

of an exemplar.²³¹ Rebuilding at Llanthony Prima from c.1175-1230 may well have been accompanied by an injection of new members, and this could have prompted a resumption of book production.

Presumably, each Llanthony house became responsible for its own book provision once the communities had been legally separated c.1205. Whether the various compositions regarding communal property made following the partition included books is unclear: as a valuable asset, we might expect them to have been considered. In the absence of firm evidence, one might wonder whether the books were divided and, if so, on what criteria: on where they happened to be at the time, or according to the number of canons at each house? Llanthony Prima may then have reverted to its pre-1136 isolated position, from which greater effort was required to gain access to materials and exemplars to copy. Whether the Llanthony priories might subsequently have exchanged exemplars, as might any two houses, is unknown. By the late fifteenth century, a few volumes would have sufficed for the daily needs of the five inhabitants at Llanthony Prima. The reunification of the Llanthonies in 1481 is another juncture at which the location, ownership and provision of Llanthony Prima's books could have changed.

The paucity of evidence means that these possibilities regarding books at Llanthony Prima remain largely theoretical. Very few of the extant corpus have a discernible connection to the mother-house (see appendix 2), but this is unsurprising given Llanthony's dual nature; in particular, the state of flux between 1136 and c.1205 means that it cannot be assumed that books of Llanthony provenance resided at only one of the Llanthony sites. None of Llanthony's extant books contains material in the Welsh language or which indicates particularly Welsh concerns.²³² No Llanthony Prima *ex libris* pre-dates the official division in c.1205. Indeed, only one book of c.1150-c.1250 contains a Llanthony Prima *ex libris* and it is, significantly, a much later addition.²³³ This

²³¹ Excluding examples such as the later copy of Augustine's *Confessiones* (LP 336), whose script indicates that it was copied in Gloucester (although scribes were also mobile).

²³² This, though, is unsurprising considering Llanthony Prima's border location, the predominance of Llanthony Secunda and that the surviving names of Llanthony's twelfth- and thirteenth-century canons are Anglo-Norman (Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp. 43-4). Gerald of Wales (CCCC 390) is the sole representative of Welsh scholarship.

²³³ LP 96 (fos. 113-244; after c.1160) (formerly one vol. with LP 145 [fos. 257-64; s. xii^{med}]): *Iste liber constat ecclesie comuentuali lanthon' prime in Wallia.* (s. xv).

may suggest that Llanthony Prima was slower than Secunda to develop a separate identity. One book from this period can be localised to Llanthony Prima by the evidence of its ownership: *Iste liber est fratris Walteri de Haya. p\ri/oris lant' p\ri/me* (s. xiii).²³⁴ This inscription is important evidence for the presence of books at the Welsh house following the 1205 division, implies the association of individual canons with particular books and raises the possibility that Walter acquired the book personally and gave it to his community. Only a couple more books can be unequivocally associated with the mother-house.²³⁵ Ultimately, Llanthony Prima is not an exception to the very low overall survival rates of medieval books from Wales.

The texts in the manuscripts of this time that are associated with Llanthony Prima are a microcosm of the overall extant Llanthony corpus: some patristics,²³⁶ homilies,²³⁷ and some early Christian theology.²³⁸ Particularly interesting is the volume which belonged to Walter of Llanthony Prima, which holds an array of excerpts that may have been useful to the head of a community, plus Cicero.²³⁹ No modern theology (with the exception of one sermon by Peter Comestor²⁴⁰) or glossed biblical books, generally prominent in the 'Llanthony' corpus, can be linked to the Welsh house.

An interesting dimension to the exploration of Llanthony Prima's books in this period is provided by a manuscript that belonged to its Irish cell of Greatconnell, County Kildare.²⁴¹ Its colophon records ...*Anno ab incarnatione Domini m^o cc^o*

²³⁴ LP 431 (fos. 1-7, 16-88) (s. xii^{ex}) (plus, by association, LP 425 [fos. 1-21; s. xii/xiii]) (plate XXXII). Three candidates for this book's owner are: Walter, 10th prior of Llanthony Prima (occurs 1217 x 1227); Walter (occurs 1266-c.1281); Walter (occurs 1305, 1314). By this time, of course, one would expect the inscription to distinguish which house was intended.

²³⁵ LP 380 (fos. 1-120) (s. xii^{ex}) and LP 356 (fos. 125-75) (s. xiii) (formerly a single volume) (the association with Llanthony Prima is from the fifteenth century). LP 200 (fos. 114-63; s. xiii-xiv): *Iste liber est [erasure] p\ri/oris Lanth' p\ri/me*. (c. 1300?); OCCC 83 (s. xv): *Quod dompnus Willelmus Amourley canonicus Lanthonie prime....*

²³⁶ Gregory (LP 96 [fos. 113-244]); Jerome (LP 356 [fos. 125-75]).

²³⁷ LP 145 (fos. 257-64).

²³⁸ Isidore and Bede (LP 380 [fos. 1-120]).

²³⁹ LP 431 (fos. 1-7, 16-88) and 425 (fos. 1-21).

²⁴⁰ LP 356 (fos. 125-75).

²⁴¹ HCL P.iv.14. Greatconnell was staffed with regular canons from Llanthony Prima. Walter prior of Connell witnessed (once as proctor of Llanthony Prima) three charters of c.1210-15 (TNA, C115/80, no. 6686; Brooks, *Irish Cartularies*, p. xxvi).



*xxx^o vii^o scriptus in monasterio sancte Marie de Conal.*²⁴² Brief fifteenth-century summaries of each chapter at foot of the pages and sixteenth-century annotation indicate an enduring interest in its contents, which, compared to Llanthony Prima's other known holdings, seem quite specialised.²⁴³ Were the picture of Llanthony Prima's manuscript resources painted by the books that can be explicitly associated with it accurate, the community would have been hard-pressed to provide books for its cells as well as for itself. However, the Irish cells offer another potential stop on the travels that a 'Llanthony' book might have taken between the different parts of the community.²⁴⁴ This book's colophon is significant evidence for copying at Greatconnell and it is possible that exemplars or scribes were brought from Llanthony Prima. No extant Llanthony manuscript is, however, an obvious exemplar.²⁴⁵

By c.1250 (a little over a century after the formalisation of Llanthony Secunda), therefore, and having begun to collect books soon after its foundation (in contrast to some other communities of the new religious orders), Llanthony's collection numbered at least 117 volumes. Llanthony's acquisition of books from external sources in conjunction with continued home production shows that it utilised all available methods to meet its demand for books. In addition, fortuitous acquisitions continued, through donation, to augment the collection. The presence of French manuscripts at Llanthony illustrates the geographical distance from which books could come, but also that, a century after the Conquest, northern France and Normandy remained part of the same cultural and intellectual milieu as England. Emphasis continued to be placed on acquiring the theological basics - the Fathers and modern theology - in addition, we can be sure, to a good number of service books. The presence of recent authors indicates awareness at Llanthony of current trends in theological writing, although such authorities are often represented by only one work. There is the

²⁴² Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, pl. 50.

²⁴³ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (trans. Rufinus); passages on Origen's orthodoxy; Pseudo-Jerome, *De XII Doctoribus* (ep. supp. 57).

²⁴⁴ Between the acquisition of Irish properties in s. xii² and 1205, this tour could potentially ultimately have consisted of the two Llanthonies plus their Irish cells; after the separation it would presumably have been reduced to two potential stages, each priory supplying its own Irish cell.

²⁴⁵ Cf. A16.130.

odd hint of wider or personal interests, but no strength and little modernity in any non-theological discipline. House-authors are an important contribution to this corpus and are often identical to the assiduous priors whose influence was instrumental in the formation of the collection.

Chapter 6

The Textual Community of Early Llanthony Manuscripts

In previous chapters concerned with the growth of Llanthony's collection, occasional allusion has been made to the possible sources for and relatives of the texts found in the community's manuscripts, what might be termed the textual community or context to which Llanthony belonged: this is the focus of the present chapter. Various possible sources of the exemplars for the texts that Llanthony obtained during its first 150 years have been raised: initially the founding patrons might have provided them, and the second stage of such a process could have involved those communities with which Llanthony had contact when it evolved from being a hermitage into an Augustinian priory, namely Merton, Colchester and Aldgate. Llanthony Prima's geographical isolation most probably made the acquisition of exemplars difficult. The situation would have changed in the 1130s, when the uprooting of the community caused it to come into contact with a range of other religious houses. Contact with Hereford cathedral, where Llanthony's former prior Robert de Béthune was bishop and where the canons sojourned briefly on their initial flight from Wales, and with the Benedictines of St. Peter's, Gloucester, where Llanthony Secunda was founded, might be safely presumed. Exemplars might also have been obtained from other local communities such as Worcester, Cirencester, Pershore and Abbey Dore¹ and could also have come from houses further afield, such as Canterbury.² Llanthony Prima, in the 'limbo' period between the establishment of its daughter-house in 1136 and the formal separation of the Llanthonies c.1205, probably lacked the wherewithal to pursue a lively programme of book acquisition and relied upon any books remaining there from pre-1136, with renewal of its collection coming via Llanthony Secunda. Books could also arrive via individual canons and random donations from members or outsiders.

¹ Too few books survive from the last two to allow much appreciation of their libraries. From Pershore, *MLGB* lists thirteen extant books; from Abbey Dore, 12 books.

² A connection may be indicated by the raw Anselmian material in Royal 8 D.viii and 5 F.ix (see chapter 3).

Several problems bedevil this type of enquiry. The virtual disappearance of the book collections of communities near to Llanthony Secunda (especially that of Gloucester Abbey) and the losses to others (Llanthony included) render it hard to ascertain the relationship between the manuscripts of these different centres. Secondly, the use of modern editions of the relevant texts to try to trace textual families in our region is hindered by the fact that many such publications ignore English witnesses. Editions also tend naturally to focus on the oldest copies of a text, and in the case of the works of the Fathers and other important early theologians, Llanthony's copies are too late in date to have been chosen by editors for close study. In consequence, the majority of Llanthony's manuscripts have not been collated with other surviving witnesses and their textual relations remain unknown.³

Firstly, we consider the textual relations of Llanthony's copies of patristic texts, the largest group within its extant corpus. There are four twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts of Gregory's weighty *Moralia in Iob* from Llanthony. OTC 39 (s. xiiⁱⁿ; books I-X) is the first volume of a putative three-volume set. Ker suggested that this manuscript might have been the exemplar for the equivalent volume (LP 56) of what may be Llanthony's second three-volume set of the *Moralia*, which dates from roughly a generation later.⁴ Two-thirds of this copy may survive: LP 56 (books I-X) and OTC 40 (books XI-XXII) (both s. xii^{2/4}). However (as noted in the last chapter), textual collation of OTC 39 and LP 56 shows that they are unlikely to be related. The fourth Llanthony *Moralia* manuscript, LP 152 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ; books XI-XXII), the second portion of a three-volume set, was copied from OTC 40.⁵ Whilst all of these volumes were part of

³ Nonetheless, the examination of the extant MSS of a particular text recorded in the relevant volume of *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (henceforth *CCSL*) or *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* (henceforth *CCCM*) can be useful indirectly, even if the editor does not mention Llanthony's own copy of that text, as it indicates how many other copies survive from a similar time (and, sometimes, place) to Llanthony's copy. This can indicate whether Llanthony was following contemporary trends by acquiring a particular text, even if it does not reveal the exact antecedents of its copy.

⁴ *Moralia*, p. 80.

⁵ See appendix 3.

three-volume sets of the *Moralia*, it is difficult to ascertain how many sets they represent.⁶

Information about the particular recension of the *Moralia* text in Llanthony's four manuscripts is currently unavailable, but some general observations about the relationship of these manuscripts to other English copies are possible.

Llanthony's acquisition of the *Moralia* is entirely in accordance with wider trends in book collection. Ker identified 65 extant English manuscripts of the *Moralia* written c.1100-c.1400; the surviving books and catalogues suggest steady production between these years. Consequently, it was probably to be found in most institutional libraries in England.⁷

The extant manuscripts suggest that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were when the *Moralia* was most frequently copied in England. That all of Llanthony's extant *Moralia* manuscripts are from these centuries is therefore in accordance with wider patterns. Of the 65 copies of English provenance, few pre-date the Llanthony manuscript OTC 39. Earlier or coeval copies survive from Christ Church, Canterbury; Durham; Salisbury; York(?) and Herefordshire(?).⁸ Overall, Ker lists thirty *Moralia* manuscripts from the twelfth century and twenty from the thirteenth.⁹ The text's popularity in the twelfth century is probably due to the Norman focus on the Fathers, coupled with the foundation of new religious orders and communities then.

⁶ OTC 39 could be posited as the only survivor of an early three-volume set, with LP 56 and OTC 40 supplementing, duplicating or replacing it, and LP 152 a later descendant. However, there is no evidence to prove that this is so: Llanthony may have succeeded only in obtaining the first third of the *Moralia* (OTC 39) in its earliest years. Therefore, its 'second' set may not have been an addition to the collection, but an attempt to fill a hole in it, and the 'first' set could not have been the exemplar for the 'second' (the lack of relationship between OTC 39 and LP 56 may support this). Against this theory: if OTC 39 represents an unsuccessful/incomplete early-twelfth-century attempt to acquire the whole *Moralia* text, and only the first third was obtained, why, when an attempt to rectify the situation was made in s. xii^{2/4} (LP 56 and OTC 40), encounter the time and expense of making a second copy of the first third of the text, which the community already had (LP 56 replicates OTC 39), instead of simply concentrating on the second and final thirds which, the MS evidence indicates, the canons did not already have? The fact that a second copy of the first third was made a generation after the still-extant initial copy makes little sense as part of an effort to complete a set of the text, but does make sense as part of a project to acquire a second copy of it. That LP 56 and OTC 40 are a second set of the *Moralia*, rather than an attempt to complete the first, also fits with their date of shortly after the foundation of Llanthony Secunda, when a copy of some essential texts would have been desirable for both houses.

⁷ Ker, '*Moralia*', p. 77.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-9 for details.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Few *Moralia* manuscripts survive from English cathedrals or Benedictine monasteries, or from the Cistercians or Franciscans.¹⁰ By comparison, eight English *Moralia* manuscripts of Augustinian provenance survive; half of these are from Llanthony.¹¹ This is an impressive percentage.¹² The story of Job may have appealed particularly to the Llanthony canons, seeming apposite to the troubles that their community experienced in the 1100s.

Ker's data on the surviving English manuscripts of the *Moralia* indicate how typical Llanthony's copies are. The *Moralia*'s length meant that it was divided into several volumes. The surviving English manuscripts suggest that the two-volume arrangement was the most popular, closely followed by the one- and three-volume formats.¹³ Llanthony's *Moralia* manuscripts all represent three-volume sets and are thus typical of their times – the three-volume sets are concentrated around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; LP 152 is, in fact, one of the latest surviving English three-volume copies.¹⁴ The divisions that split the *Moralia* into three volumes follow books ten and twenty-two in our manuscripts, as was all but invariable in England.¹⁵ Llanthony's four extant *Moralia* manuscripts are amongst the smaller English survivors.¹⁶ It is interesting that LP 56 is in the smaller size-range of English *Moralia* manuscripts, as it is one of the largest extant Llanthony manuscripts and certainly the largest book amongst its immediate peer group of manuscripts containing the 'Llanthony hand'. Ker notes that volumes comprising a single set of the *Moralia* are not always

¹⁰ Ker lists only two extant English *Moralia* manuscripts from Benedictine monasteries (both twelfth-century, from Bury St. Edmunds and Reading). The entirety of the English Cistercian monasteries and Franciscan convents can muster only four extant English *Moralia* manuscripts between them (including one from Buildwas [LP 109; s. xii]).

¹¹ Llanthony: OTC 39, LP 56, OTC 40, LP 152 (in Ker's 'unknown provenance' section in this article), plus half of a two-volume set from Bradenstoke; one of a six-volume set from Newstead; half of a two-volume set from Southwick and one of a three-volume set from Stafford(?) (Ker, 'Moralia', p. 78).

¹² Ker lists seventeen more English *Moralia* MSS of unknown provenance, any of which could be Augustinian, whilst any foundation could have acquired a *Moralia* MS of non-English origin.

¹³ The 65 extant English *Moralia* MSS represent 51 sets of the work: eighteen are/were two-volume, fifteen were single-volume and fifteen in three volumes.

¹⁴ Ker, 'Moralia', p. 81.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Symptomatic of the singularity of Salisbury's early library is that its copy of the *Moralia* was divided after book XVIII, a division common in continental MSS but not otherwise found in English copies (Webber, *Salisbury*, p. 59).

¹⁶ Ker, 'Moralia', pp. 84-5.

obviously partners.¹⁷ This is so with LP 56 and OTC 40, the volumes most likely to be part of the same set, which differ in size. When the early-thirteenth-century manuscript LP 152 was copied from OTC 40, the format of the exemplar was altered sufficiently to make its copy the third smallest extant English *Moralia* manuscript.

In articulation, the Llanthony copies display features common to *Moralia* manuscripts. Although twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century scribes did not habitually provide finding-aids for the reader, a later annotator often added book-numbers in the upper margins, and Canon Morgan of Carmarthen added in the 1400s running-headings to the twelfth-century Llanthony *Moralia* manuscripts LP 56 and OTC 40. In the thirteenth century, twelfth-century *Moralia* manuscripts were refined by the addition of numbering by which to distinguish the chapters of the book of Job. In LP 56 and OTC 40, an annotator has distinguished these numbers from other numbers in the margins by prefacing them with *super* and noting at the beginning of each book the chapter of Job which it addressed (e.g. *liber xii^{us} super capitulum 14 et 15^m*).¹⁸ In the thirteenth century also, schemes for dividing the *Moralia* text into short sections for ease of reference were devised. Letters are found subdividing books, chapters or leaves, and LP 56 and OTC 40 belong to a small group of extant English *Moralia* manuscripts that are divided by column numbers.¹⁹

The works, authentic and pseudonymous, of Augustine of Hippo were consistently popular at Llanthony. Regrettably from the purview of this investigation, Llanthony's manuscripts of Augustine are far from the earliest surviving witnesses to his works and so have tended to be ignored by the editors of these texts. The textual relatives and antecedents of the overwhelming majority of Llanthony's manuscripts of Augustine have not, therefore, been investigated.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* records three other MSS which contain this system. It is good evidence of Llanthony's continuing use of some of its older material.

Happily, the *Confessiones* is an exception, as the particular history of the text means that its dissemination in England can be traced.²⁰ Although known in England in the eighth and early ninth centuries, knowledge of the *Confessiones* seems then to have been lost, and the manuscript evidence suggests that any copy which had been in England before the arrival of the Vikings did not survive their presence. No new full copy was then imported until the second half of the eleventh century.

The dissemination of the *Confessiones* in England in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries depended ultimately on two manuscripts imported from the continent independently of each other no earlier than the second half of the eleventh century.²¹ The actual imported copies are lost, but their own antecedents can be identified, and it is from one of these, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 1913A, that Llanthony's two twelfth-century *Confessiones* manuscripts descend: it heads the diffusion of the *Confessiones* in south-western England in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.²² A ninth-century manuscript, Paris 1913A is distinguished by extensive corrections to the *Confessiones* text and the addition in the mid eleventh century of an abbreviated version of Augustine's *retractatio*. Four of the late-eleventh-/early-twelfth-century West Country manuscripts of the *Confessiones* mentioned above share these features.²³ They are not direct copies of Paris 1913A nor of each other, but descend from a missing intermediary. From the mid eleventh century until the late 1100s, Paris 1913A resided at St. Peter's Abbey, Gent. Webber concludes that the missing intermediary was copied from Paris 1913A, presumably at Gent, during the middle or second half

²⁰ Around 334 medieval MS copies of the *Confessiones*, complete or partial, are known. The overwhelming majority dates from the twelfth century or later (Webber, 'Diffusion of Augustine's *Confessions*', pp. 30-1, n. 10).

²¹ The earliest English witnesses are five MSS of s. xi² (or possibly s. xii^m): CTC, MS B.3.25 (Christ Church, Canterbury); Bodl., Bodley 815 (Exeter); Salisbury Cathedral, MS 6 (Salisbury); BL Royal 5 B.xiv (Gloucester?; contains a replacement quire of s. xii^{2/4-med} in the hand of a Gloucester scribe); and BL Harley 3080 (West Country). *Ibid.*, pp. 32-3.

²² The second line of transmission is headed by Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, MS 46. This tradition was less widely diffused in England than that represented by Paris 1913A. Boulogne 46 (s. xi^{med}) has an early-twelfth-century provenance of Saint-Bertin, where it may have been produced. Its indirect English descendents are from Christ Church, Canterbury and Durham. The Christ Church copy was subsequently important for the dissemination of the *Confessiones* in south-eastern England (*ibid.*, pp. 34, 36-8).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 34. Webber has not identified any continental MSS deriving from Paris 1913A.

of the eleventh century, shortly after which it was imported to England and circulated in the West Country.²⁴

After reaching England, the textual tradition represented by Paris 1913A became widely diffused there during the twelfth century and subsequently. It is witnessed by twelfth-century manuscripts from Hereford (s. xii^{med}), Llanthony (s. xiiⁱⁿ and s. xii^{med}, the later copied from the earlier), Lincoln (s. xii¹), and by fragments of an unprovenanced manuscript.²⁵ The distribution of this textual tradition of the *Confessiones* is fascinating from the point of view of the sources and relations of the books acquired by Llanthony in its first century. The Llanthony book LP 365 (fos. 1-119) is the earliest of this small group of twelfth-century manuscripts descended from Paris 1913A. Was its exemplar one of the five later-eleventh-century English manuscripts that Webber identifies as the earliest English witnesses to the *Confessiones*, all but one of which is of West Country provenance?²⁶ As LP 365 (fos. 1-119) is old enough to have belonged to Llanthony Prima, its appearance as the earliest of a cluster of copies from the south-west is interesting. The concentration of the provenances of the twelfth-century copies of this tradition of the *Confessiones* in the locality of Llanthony Secunda is noteworthy, especially the existence of similarly-dated copies from Llanthony and Hereford. The Llanthony copy is earlier than the Hereford one, suggesting that, contrary to what one might expect, this could be an example of Llanthony aiding the library formation of its neighbours. As discussed in the preceding chapter, that Llanthony's second twelfth-century *Confessiones* manuscript was copied from its first demonstrates the priory's use of its internal resources to extend its library by duplicating a text that it already had.

Of particular interest concerning the imported manuscripts lying behind the English transmission of the *Confessiones* is that both were copied (directly or

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-6. Respectively HCL, O.IV.8 (at Hereford Cathedral from manufacture: Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, p. 28); LP 365 (fos. 1-119) and LP 336; LCL, MS 214 (vol. 2).

²⁶ See note 21 above for their shelfmarks. Of those of west-country provenance, Harley 3080 is the earliest witness to this tradition, although it is unprovenanced (Webber *Salisbury*, p. 73). Webber speculates that Royal 5 B.xiv is from Gloucester; however Thomson, 'Gloucester', does not list it (*MLGB* lists it under Bath and Webber, *Salisbury*, p. 73 follows this attribution). Salisbury 6 has a good Salisbury provenance (*ibid.*, pp. 12-13).

indirectly) from books then in the possession of Flemish monasteries. Webber acknowledges that these copies themselves need not have been imported directly from Saint-Bertin and St. Peter's, Gent, but suggests that, in both instances, it would be hard to postulate Norman intermediaries.²⁷ Seemingly, neither tradition of the *Confessiones* which circulated widely in England circulated in Normandy and there is little evidence to suggest that the *Confessiones* was widely diffused in Normandy before the twelfth century.²⁸ The Flemish connection is, in Llanthony's case, perhaps indirect and less immediate than the west country one.

Some information is also available about Augustine's sermons *De verbis Domini et Apostoli* found in OQC 309 (c.1150-60). This compilation of 98 sermons, not all authentic, is the largest and most widespread of the collections of Augustine's sermons.²⁹ The collection was initially unitary, but the tradition as it now stands appears also in two separate strands.³⁰ Sixty-eight manuscripts contain both the sermons *De verbis Domini* and those *De verbis Apostoli*. These range in date from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries, with the largest number of copies (29) dating, like Llanthony's, from the twelfth century.³¹ Most of the manuscripts of *De verbis Domini et Apostoli* are of continental provenance – certainly none of the pre-twelfth-century copies appears to be of English provenance.³² Twenty-four of the twenty-nine twelfth-century manuscripts of the text can be assigned a provenance, and for nine of these it is English: copies survive from Llanthony; Rochester; Warden; Chichester; Reading; St. Augustine's, Canterbury; Lincoln; Hereford and (s. xii-xiii) Worcester.³³ Other twelfth-century copies are of Norman, French or Flemish provenance, with one copy from each of Navarre and

²⁷ 'Diffusion of Augustine's *Confessions*', p. 40.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ P-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de Saint Augustin, Instrumenta Patristica XII* (Steenbergen, 1976), p. 218.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-2.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 221-2.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-2. Verbraken mistakenly records a provenance of Gloucester for OQC 309.

Switzerland. Only four post-twelfth-century copies listed by Verbraken are of English provenance.³⁴

This text was therefore very popular in England in the 1100s, with extant copies of that date from most houses whose book-holdings have survived fairly well, plus the 'wildcards' of Warden and Chichester. It is therefore difficult to know whence Llanthony's exemplar might have come, although some speculation about the relationship of Llanthony's copy, OQC 309, to its contemporaries is interesting. The earliest representatives of this text of English provenance are apparently those from St. Augustine's, Canterbury and Lincoln.³⁵ Rochester's copy is s. xii^{2/4}, whilst Coates dates Reading's copy to the late 1130s-late 1140s.³⁶ From early in the second half of the 1100s are Llanthony's copy (c.1150-60) and the copy probably made at Hereford.³⁷ The copies from Warden and Worcester were made in the late century.³⁸ It may be significant that the small cluster of copies of the sermons *De verbis Domini et Apostoli* with west-country provenances dates from the second half of the century, raising the possibility of a shared exemplar or resources in the area.³⁹ Textual collation would be required to determine whether there is a direct relationship between these copies.

By comparison, the tradition in which the sermons *De verbis Domini* circulated alone is now represented by fifty-two manuscripts, including fifteen twelfth-century copies.⁴⁰ Verbraken records only two copies of English provenance: an eleventh-century manuscript from Exeter and an eleventh-to-twelfth-century book from St Paul's, London.⁴¹ The tradition in which the sermons *De verbis Apostoli* circulated by themselves is rarer, with only twenty copies of s. ix-xv

³⁴ WCL, F.32 (s. xiii¹) was at Worcester early on (Thomson, *Worcester*, pp. 21-2). There survive two fourteenth-century copies (Credon and Norwich Cathedral) and one fifteenth-century copy (Fenny Bentley church).

³⁵ Canterbury, Cathedral Library A.8 (St. Augustine's) dates from c.1100; LCL 90 (probably from Lincoln) from s. xiiⁱⁿ.

³⁶ BL, Royal 5 C.VIII; OTC 63 (*English Medieval Books*, pp. 58-9).

³⁷ HCL, O.VIII.11 (Thomson, *Hereford*, pp. 58-9 dates this MS s. xii²).

³⁸ CTC 129 (s. xii/xiii); BL, Royal 5 C.II (s. xii-xiii). Chichester's copy (Cambridge, Emmanuel College, 16) cannot be dated more precisely than 'twelfth century'.

³⁹ Cf. the discussion of Augustine's *Confessiones*, above, of which coeval copies of Llanthony and Hereford provenances and of the same recension survive.

⁴⁰ Verbraken, *Études Critiques*, pp. 222-3.

⁴¹ Bodleian lat. 229; Aberdeen, Univ. Lib., 9 (dated in *MLGB* to s. xiiⁱⁿ).

surviving. Once again, the twelfth century is the best represented, with seven known copies, none of which are of English provenance.⁴² Llanthony's copy of the sermons *De verbis Domini et Apostoli* was, therefore, from the most common format in which those texts circulated.

Some brief comments on the other texts by Augustine of which Llanthony owned a copy are possible thanks to the information provided by Römer in his *Überlieferung*.⁴³ For most texts, Römer's figures show a sharp rise in the number of copies surviving from the twelfth century relative to the preceding centuries. For example, there is no pre-twelfth-century English or Irish copy of Augustine's *sermo* 393, *De paenitentibus*, but Römer records twenty-three twelfth-century copies, three of which are of Llanthony provenance.⁴⁴ The majority of the genuine and pseudonymous Augustinian work amongst Llanthony's early acquisitions was, the evidence assembled by Römer indicates, reasonably current in twelfth-century England and Ireland.⁴⁵

By the end of the 1100s, however, other Augustinian texts were seemingly represented in England by a number of copies barely into double figures – if that – and for such works, Llanthony's copy (or copies) assumes greater significance as an early English witness. For example, LP 372 (fos. 83^r-138^r; s. xii²) contains one of six twelfth-century English copies of Augustine's *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII*. Apart from one manuscript of s. xi-xii, these six are the earliest extant English witnesses to the text.⁴⁶ Similarly, the *De consensu*

⁴² *Études Critiques*, pp. 223-4.

⁴³ Band II/1. However, Römer lists only MSS now in England and Ireland. He does not include lost copies (some of which are known from book lists) or English copies now in repositories abroad. Conversely, he does include copies that came to England after 1540 and which did not, therefore, form part of the Augustinian holdings of medieval England. His lists give a broadly representative cross-section and indicate a text's popularity, rather than precise statistics.

⁴⁴ LP 372 (42-82^v), LP 149, OTC 51. The English witnesses to this text show one of two general patterns that appear common to the English/Irish survivors of Augustine's texts: the number of survivors is fairly constant across the later medieval period. The extant English copies of some other Augustinian works suggest a pattern in which peaks of copying in the twelfth and fourteenth or fifteenth centuries enclose a trough in the thirteenth (and, sometimes, the fourteenth) century, when copying seems to have declined. *Überlieferung* II/1, *passim*.

⁴⁵ For example, the above-mentioned *sermo* 393, *De paenitentibus*, is witnessed by 72 MSS (Llanthony accounts for three) (*ibid.*, pp. 143-6). The pseudonymous *De spiritu et anima* survives in seventy-five English/Irish MSS (two of the thirty thirteenth-century copies are from Llanthony).

⁴⁶ The s. xi-xii copy is from St. Augustine's, Canterbury; of s. xiiⁱⁿ is a copy from Salisbury; another is from Rochester and another has a Durham provenance of s. xii/xiii (R.A.B. Mynors,

evangelistarum, found in the second-quarter-to-mid-twelfth-century Llanthony manuscript Rawl. A.374, survives in only eight twelfth-century copies and in twenty-two English or Irish copies from the whole medieval period.⁴⁷

Llanthony's copy of *De decem chordis* (OCCC 194; s. xii^{2/4}) is one of six extant twelfth-century copies. Two other twelfth-century copies are from Worcester and Salisbury.⁴⁸ Llanthony's manuscript of *De haeresibus* is one of five twelfth-century copies.⁴⁹ The earliest extant English copy of the pseudonymous *De diligendo deo* is from Llanthony (LP 151, the only thirteenth-century copy).⁵⁰

Llanthony's manuscripts are particularly significant English witnesses to some Augustinian texts. Only eighteen English or Irish copies of *De fide et symbolo* survive from the entire medieval period. The earliest is of c.1100.⁵¹ There are four twelfth-century copies, and one of s. xii-xiii. Of these, two are from Llanthony.⁵² The small number of manuscripts might indicate that the circulation of this text was limited, that its English transmission emanates from the Salisbury manuscript, and that the four twelfth-century English manuscripts might be from a limited number of imported exemplars.⁵³ Given this text's apparently restricted circulation, that Llanthony possessed two copies by the end of the century makes this a likely example of the canons duplicating their own manuscripts in order to expand their holdings.

Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the end of the Twelfth Century, [Oxford, 1939], no. 72). The remaining copies are unprovenanced. Thirty-nine English copies of this text are recorded by Römer, *Überlieferung* II/1, pp. 155-6.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-3. The twelfth-century copies whose provenance is known are from Westminster, Exeter; Bury St. Edmunds; Rochester and Llanthony (an in-house product).

⁴⁸ The two earliest English copies of this text are of the eleventh century. One is of Durham provenance (Mynors, *Durham Cathedral MSS*, no. 46). Early-twelfth-century copies come from Worcester and Salisbury. Llanthony's copy may follow chronologically. Other copies are from Waltham and (s. xii/xiii) Valle Crucis (particularly noteworthy, as survivals from Wales are very rare, and possibly of significance to Llanthony), whilst the last is probably Irish. *Überlieferung* II/1, pp. 57-8.

⁴⁹ LP 215; s. xii². *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101: extant MSS are not numerous, totalling twenty-four.

⁵⁰ Römer lists only twenty copies of English/Irish provenance (*ibid.*, pp. 62-3); the others are from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Llanthony's MS might, therefore, head the English tradition.

⁵¹ Salisbury, Cathedral Library 198 (from Salisbury). *Ibid.*, pp. 91-2.

⁵² LP 372 (fos. 1-41) and 215; both s. xii². The provenance of the other two copies is unknown.

⁵³ Only detailed collation of the MSS could resolve this. The fact that the earliest copy listed by Römer is from Salisbury might be significant, as so many other texts find their earliest English witnesses in a Salisbury book, but Webber (*Salisbury, passim.*) does not note that this MS has any particular textual significance.

OTC 51 (s. xii^{2/4}) contains work by Augustine, Paschasius Radbertus, Ambrose, Lanfranc and Guitmond of Aversa. The texts of Paschasius in this volume have French connections. His *De corpore et sanguine domini* (fos. 13^r-40^v) belongs to a family which is related to an eleventh-century manuscript from Corbie.⁵⁴ Other copies in this family have provenances (where known) in northern France or Normandy.⁵⁵ Amongst this family, OTC 51 is of particular interest because it is the only manuscript without certain additions in chapters 14 and 19.⁵⁶ OTC 51 also holds the same version of Paschasius's *Epistola ad Fredugardum* as these northern French/Norman manuscripts.⁵⁷ A northern French and Norman context is natural given that, outside England, Normandy was, after Flanders, geographically the nearest source of exemplars for English book-makers. As OTC 51 was probably produced in-house at Llanthony Secunda, a French/Norman exemplar of this family apparently reached England. Whether OTC 51 was copied from it or from an intermediary is unknown. The unprovenanced Royal 7 C.viii (s. xii^{ex}) may be related to (a direct/indirect descendent of?) OTC 51. Firstly, in addition to these texts by Paschasius, they have two more texts in common.⁵⁸ Secondly, Royal 7 C.viii belonged to John Theyer (c.1597-1673) who acquired many books from Worcester cathedral.

The Llanthony manuscript OCCC 139 (s. xii^{2/4}) contains Cassiodorus's *De anima*, which is found in manuscripts both in conjunction with and independently of another of his works, the *Variae*.⁵⁹ OCCC 139 contains only the *De anima*, which appears to have been fairly common in the twelfth century. Of the 118 known manuscripts in which the *De anima* appears independently of

⁵⁴ Paris, BNF, lat. 12299. Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini cum appendice, Epistola ad Fredugardum*, ed. B. Paul, CCCM 16, (Turnhout, 1969), pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

⁵⁵ Corrections to Arras 775 (Corbie, s. ix², with a provenance of Arras); BNF lat. 11750 (unknown provenance; s. xii); Tours, BM, 313 (Soissons; s. xii); BL, Royal 7 C.VIII (unknown provenance; s. xii^{ex}); Rouen 1409 (Jumièges; s. xii); Rouen 537 (St. Ouen; s. xii?).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

⁵⁷ Only 19 of the 120 MSS and editions of the *De corpore...* preserve the *epistola*. OTC 51 belongs to the 3rd Auflage (edition). Apart from Arras 775, all of the MSS in notes 54 and 55 also contain this version of the *epistola ad Fredugardum*. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁵⁸ Lanfranc's *De corpore et sanguine Domini* and Guitmond of Aversa's *De veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi*. The four relevant texts appear in the same order in both MSS, although not all contiguously. Both MSS also contain other texts.

⁵⁹ *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Senatoris Opera, Pars I*, ed. J.W. Halporn, CCSL 96, (Turnhout, 1973), p. 512.

the *Variae*,⁶⁰ 28 are twelfth-century, with one more of s. xi/xii and six more of s. xii/xiii.⁶¹ The twelfth century witnessed a sharp increase in the copying of this text – this is the period from which most copies are known. The popularity of *De anima* makes it unsurprising that Llanthony had a copy. Whilst the known provenances of the manuscripts of this tradition of *De anima* suggest that the text was popular across Europe - copies survive from England, France, Germany and Italy - the twelfth-century copies (the provenance of only a small proportion of which is known) are mainly from France/Flanders and England (St. Augustine's, Canterbury; Llanthony; Reading; Waltham), areas which exerted cultural influence on Llanthony at that time.⁶²

The theological expositions of Bede are also found in Llanthony manuscripts from before 1250. LP 148 (s. xii^{med}) contains his *In Genesim*. This text survives in two versions: the longer version, occupying four books, grew out of an earlier and shorter exposition of the first three chapters of Genesis.⁶³ Some of the oldest manuscripts preserve the two-book version, of which Laistner records only five copies.⁶⁴ LP 148 is one of thirteen surviving copies of the four-book version. The earliest witnesses are four copies from the ninth century, followed by four from the tenth, all of continental provenance.⁶⁵ No pre-Conquest English copy is extant - the earliest manuscript of English provenance, from Durham, dates from the first half of the twelfth century.⁶⁶ Thus LP 148, despite dating from several centuries after Bede's death, is seemingly the second-earliest extant English copy of this work.⁶⁷ On the evidence of a collation of a small portion of the text of the

⁶⁰ One known copy has been destroyed by fire.

⁶¹ CCSL 96, pp. 522-6.

⁶² Twelfth-century copies also survive from the Dukes of Milan and Gottweig and Admont (Austria). The situation with the MSS which contain both *De anima* and the *Variae* is more complicated (there are various classes of this recension), but as a loose comparison, no MSS of this tradition pre-date the twelfth century and three are from the twelfth century (only one of which has a known provenance, of Lyre/St. Ouen, Normandy). The surviving MSS of this version have a different distribution over time and it does not seem to have been that popular in the 1100s.

⁶³ M.L.W. Laistner, *A Hand-list of Bede Manuscripts* (New York, 1943), p. 41.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-2.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3.

⁶⁶ Cambridge, Jesus College, MS Q A 14, whose nearest relation is a ninth- or tenth-century MS from Bobbio (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 83 sup. fos. 1^v-123^v). CCSL 118A: *Beda Opera*, Pars II i, ed. Ch. W. Jones (Turnhout, 1967), pp. i-iii.

⁶⁷ A similar pattern regarding the English MSS of Bedan works prevails with texts such as *De Temporum Ratione* (transmission of which depends almost wholly on continental MSS) and *De*

Llanthony manuscript, Jones observes that its closest relation is the above-mentioned *In Genesim* manuscript from Bobbio.⁶⁸ Jones considers the Bobbio text a 'valuable independent witness' that is related to two other *In Genesim* manuscripts, both *s. ix*, from Corbie and St. Gallen.⁶⁹ Two of the three remaining twelfth-century copies of this text are from Clairvaux and Warden (*s. xii/xiii*).⁷⁰ Laistner lists no post-twelfth-century copies. His figures indicate that Bede's biblical commentaries as a whole reached the height of their popularity in the twelfth century, from when the largest percentage of manuscripts survives.⁷¹ Despite this, the paucity of copies suggests that *In Genesim* was not one of Bede's more popular texts, a view reinforced by the fact that it appears in documents relating to the libraries of only three English foundations: Durham, Ely and Llanthony Secunda.⁷²

More numerous are manuscripts of Bede's commentary on Mark, of which Laistner lists ninety-five copies, including the Llanthony book LP 147 (fos. 60-179) (*s. xii^{med}*).⁷³ Again, none of the pre- or post-twelfth-century manuscripts is known to be of English provenance.⁷⁴ Of the thirty twelfth-century copies (a total which, following the common pattern of works by revered authors, is a significant increase from the preceding century), seven are of English

Natura Rerum. The exception to the tenuous transmission of Bedan works in England is the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Laistner, *Hand-list*, pp. 2-3), which Llanthony appears not to have owned.

⁶⁸ CCSL 118A, p. v. Although LP 148 was not employed for the CCSL edition of *In Genesim*, it has attracted Jones's attention *grace à* Henry Wharton, who deployed its text for his 1692/3 volume of Bedan works.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. ii. The Bobbio MS (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 83 sup.) belongs to the third recension of *In Genesim*. Jones notes that, in the first book, its text shifts from relations with the ninth-century Corbie MS (Paris, BNF, lat. 12271) (also of the third recension) to relations with the St. Gallen MS (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 255), which is one of only two surviving MSS of the second recension. As we have seen, the Bobbio MS is also linked to the earliest extant English MS of *In Genesim* from Durham.

⁷⁰ Laistner, *Hand-list*, pp. 42-3.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6. This century accounts for 38.5% of the extant copies, a surge from the eleventh century (10%). The figures suggest a slump in copying 1250-c.1400, preceding an increase in the fifteenth century. This pattern recalls that observed for some of the works of Augustine discussed above.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13. Durham is the only English foundation mentioned whose catalogue records a copy of *In Genesim*, whilst Leland recorded the text at Ely. Laistner does not note *In Genesim*'s presence in H460; nonetheless LP 148 may be A16.202-3. The popularity of Bede's *In Genesim* may have been curtailed by the fact that Ambrose and Augustine had already covered the same area (*ibid.*, p. 41).

⁷³ *Beda's Opera, Pars II, 3: In Lucae Evangelium Expositio, In Marci Evangelium Expositio*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960) focuses on the ample supply of ninth-century MSS and does not mention Llanthony's copy.

⁷⁴ Laistner, *Hand-list*, pp. 50-5: the provenance of many is not recorded and so could be English.

provenance: in addition to Llanthony, books from Cirencester, Christ Church, Canterbury, Fountains, Windsor and Worcester survive. It is noteworthy that Cirencester's copy is, like Llanthony's, from the mid twelfth century. Although the number of extant manuscripts is large, their evidence suggests that the copying of the commentary on Mark in England was limited to the 1100s and that, even then, this work was not especially common.⁷⁵ Laistner also records many copies of Bede's commentary on Proverbs, but only fifteen manuscripts which contain solely the final portion of this work (*De Muliere forti*), which was sometimes copied alone.⁷⁶ Five twelfth-century copies are recorded: Llanthony's is the late-twelfth-century LP 380 (fos. 1-120), and it may be suggestive that another copy from s. xii² originated at Gloucester Abbey.⁷⁷ Llanthony's twelfth-century Bedan manuscripts give the impression that the priory did not acquire his most common works.⁷⁸ Local connections in terms of copying or exemplars are suggested by the provenances of some of the other manuscripts containing these works but, in the absence of textual collation, such links remain unconfirmed.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ This impression is mitigated by Laistner's list of documentation relating to English religious libraries, in which the commentary on Mark appears more frequently than it does in extant MSS (*ibid.*, pp. 10-13). A similar situation prevails with Bede's commentary on Tobit, also popular. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-82) records seventy-three copies - thirty-six are twelfth-century, but only seven of these are of known English provenance: Ramsey and Salisbury (both s. xiiⁱⁿ), Southwell(?), Peterborough, Bury St. Edmunds and, from later in the century, Durham and Llanthony (LP 114; s. xii^{3/4}, in which Bede's commentary is used as a gloss). The only other copy of English provenance listed is from Worcester (Bodleian, Hatton 23; s. xi^{ex}). This commentary's English circulation appears to have been limited to, on the whole, fairly large communities, an impression not altered by Laistner's list of English medieval library documents (*ibid.*, pp. 10-13).

⁷⁶ *Hand-list*, pp. 61-2. *De muliere forti* first appears alone in an eleventh-century MS from St.-Vaast (Arras, Bibliothèque publique, 1023).

⁷⁷ HCL, P 1.i (Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, pp. 64-5 do not itemise this Bedan text amongst its contents). The MS also contains Clement of Llanthony's *De sex alis cherubin*. LP 380 (fos. 1-120) has connections to Llanthony Prima: any textual connection between it and the coeval Gloucester copy of *De Muliere forti* might indicate that it is a volume produced at Llanthony Secunda which subsequently reached Prima. Apart from these copies, the only twelfth-century *De Muliere forti* of known provenance is BNF 14489 (St.-Victor).

⁷⁸ This applies to more than Bede's theological commentaries: the sole Bedan school treatise in Llanthony's corpus, *De Schematibus et Tropis*, is now represented by only fourteen copies, including the Llanthony book OCCC 43 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ). Those pre-dating it are unprovenanced but one of four other thirteenth-century copies (CCCC 217) is from Worcester (Laistner, *Hand-list*, p. 136).

⁷⁹ A comparison between the Bedan theological works recorded in Harley 460 and those in the documentation of other English communities shows that the five Bedan texts certainly recorded in Llanthony's library catalogue (commentaries on *Cantica canticorum*, Mark, Proverbs and Tobit and *De Tabernaculo*) are only all present in one other English library list printed by Laistner, that of Durham (s. xii-xv). These documents reveal no overlap between the collections of Llanthony and nearby Cirencester, Glastonbury or Malmesbury, but some similarity with Reading which, in the 1400s, owned four of the five Bedan works in Harley 460 (*Hand-list*, pp. 10-13). The difficulty with such a comparison is inherent in most uses of medieval library

Although Llanthony was far down the chain of transmission for patristic texts, its pre-1250 manuscripts are often amongst the earliest witnesses to work by recent authors.⁸⁰ One such author is Ailred of Rievaulx (c.1110-1167), a significant proportion of whose *oeuvre* is in fact lost.⁸¹ Hoste notes 'some 180' manuscripts containing Ailred's work, forty of which are twelfth-century. That Llanthony acquired Ailred's work at quite an early point, even within the author's lifetime, accords to its Ailredian volumes an importance lacking from its copies of work by some other authors.⁸²

The Llanthony book LP 397 (s. xii^{2/4}) holds on fos. 1^v-103^v Ailred's *Speculum Caritatis* (composed 1142-3), one of only eighteen extant manuscripts to do so and, furthermore, one of only two surviving twelfth-century English copies.⁸³ The other is from Buildwas.⁸⁴ Further copies are recorded in the medieval library catalogues of Bury St. Edmunds; Christ Church, Canterbury; Leicester; Lesnes; Norwich; Peterborough and, perhaps most pertinently from the point of view of geographical proximity to Llanthony, Cirencester, Glamorgan and Winchcombe.⁸⁵ The Cistercian tradition of the early manuscripts of the *Speculum* is almost uniform, but three English manuscripts (from Llanthony, Coggeshall and Buildwas) contain readings peculiar to themselves.⁸⁶

catalogues and book-lists: it is hard to tell what proportion or class of a community's collection is recorded therein.

⁸⁰ There is a greater chance with these texts than with patristics that Llanthony's particular copy will have been studied by editors.

⁸¹ *Bibliotheca Aelrediana: A Survey of the Manuscripts, Old Catalogue, Editions and Studies concerning St. Aelred of Rievaulx*, ed. A. Hoste, *Instrumenta Patristica II*, (Steenburgen, 1962), p. 15.

⁸² Hoste breaks down by order the provenance of 84 of the 'some 180' extant Ailredian MSS that he records (*ibid.*, pp. 20-1). Of the thirteen whose provenance is an Augustinian community, six are from English or Welsh houses (including one book from each of Carmarthen, Cirencester and Llanthony), four are Parisian, two Flemish and one Swiss. Of 32 extant Benedictine Ailredian MSS, 26 are of English provenance; of 32 Cistercian Ailredian survivors, 15 are of English provenance (including two from Buildwas).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3.

⁸⁴ Cambridge, St. John's College, MS D.2 (fos. 1-89^v) (s. xii^{ex}) (Sheppard, *Buildwas Books*, pp. 75-80). Two further twelfth-century *Speculum Caritatis* MSS survive, from S.-Martin-des-Champs and Clairvaux. There are only two English copies from a later date (Coggeshall and Southwark). The remaining copies whose provenance is known are from France and Belgium/Flanders. Hoste, *Bibliotheca Ailrediana*, pp. 42-3.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-4 does not identify any of these citations with an extant MS.

⁸⁶ *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia I: Opera Ascetica*, ed. A. Hoste and C.H. Talbot, *CCCM* 1, (Turnhout, 1971), pp. xv-xvi. They suppose that the English textual tradition is closer to Ailred's

One Llanthony book contains two works by imitators of Ailred, both attested by only a handful of manuscripts. The *Speculum spiritalis amicitiae* survives in only six copies, including the Llanthony manuscript LP 431 (fos. 32^r-47^r).⁸⁷ Hoste dates the four earliest copies of this text, including the Llanthony one (which may rather be s. xii^{ex}/c.1200), to the thirteenth century. The provenance of two of these - Llanthony and Westminster - is known.⁸⁸ This text has been attributed to Thomas de Frakaham, a canon of Lesnes, who has been dated s. xiiiⁱⁿ; the gap between the dates of LP 431 and Thomas is not so great that the two cannot be reconciled.⁸⁹

Directly following the *Speculum spiritalis amicitiae* in LP 431 is a text sometimes mistakenly attributed to Ailred, the *Speculum humilitatis*.⁹⁰ Hoste lists only four manuscripts of this text, three from the thirteenth century and one from the fourteenth. All four also contain the *Speculum spiritalis amicitiae*.⁹¹ In the Llanthony and Durham books, the *Speculum humilitatis* directly follows the *Speculum spiritalis amicitiae*.⁹² That the *Speculum humilitatis* is found only in conjunction with the *Speculum spiritalis amicitiae* suggests a close relationship

own text than that found on the continent but do not give any information on the relationship of these three English copies to each other.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* classes the *Speculum spiritalis amicitiae* as an abbreviation of Ailred's *De spiritali amicitia* (p. 352).

⁸⁸ CCCC MS 424; LP 431 (fos. 32^r-47^r); Oxford, St. John's College, MS 190 (Westminster); Seville, Bibl. Capitular. Columbina, MS 7.2.1. A later MS from Durham (Durham, Univ. Lib., MS Cosin V.II.5) contains the only other provenanced copy. Where known, all of the provenances of this text are English. The sixth copy is fourteenth-century.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* prints an explicit of the *Speculum spiritalis amicitiae* which states that '...*Hanc compilationem fecit dominus Thomas de Frakaham, canonicus de Lesnes. Compilavit autem haec de libris Aluredi abbatis Revallis, id est, de speculo caritatis et de libro spiritalis amicitiae*'. However, four of the extant MSS, including Llanthony's, lack this (p. 634).

⁹⁰ C.H. Talbot judges that the attribution to Ailred is mistaken: 'The *Speculum Humilitatis* attributed to Ailred of Rievaulx', *Studia Monastica*, I (1959), pp. 121-136, p. 126.

⁹¹ s. xiii: CCCC, MS 424; LP 431 (fos. 47^r-50^v); Seville, Bibl. Capitular. Columbina, MS 7.2.1. s. xiv: Durham, Univ. Lib., MS Cosin V.II.5.

⁹² Hoste does not accord the part of Cosin V.II.5 containing the *Speculum humilitatis* a Durham provenance, as he does for the part immediately preceding it that holds the *Speculum spiritalis amicitiae* (even though they share a page). Nor does he give a Llanthony provenance to the *Humilitatis* portion of LP 431 (again, it shares a page with the *Spiritalis amicitiae* part which he does give a Llanthony provenance).

between the two texts. That they are contiguous in both the Llanthony and Durham manuscripts is interesting.⁹³

Bodley 839 (s. xiiⁱⁿ) contains Gilbert Crispin's (d.1117) *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani*. The greater part of this work seems to have existed in its final form in 1093, thus Llanthony's copy of it is relatively early.⁹⁴ Gilbert moved from Bec to Canterbury around 1079, subsequently becoming abbot of Westminster.

The manuscript evidence suggests that the *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani* was far more popular than Gilbert's other writings: it survives in thirty-two manuscripts, of which twenty are twelfth-century.⁹⁵ Of the twenty twelfth-century survivors, six are from England, five from France, four from Germany and one from Italy.⁹⁶ The six English twelfth-century *Disputatio* manuscripts suggest that the textual tradition was strongest in the south of the country (perhaps naturally given Gilbert's associations with Canterbury and Westminster) – their provenances are Rochester Cathedral, St. Albans, Llanthony and Westminster(?).⁹⁷ Five *Disputatio* manuscripts, including Llanthony's, are from the early twelfth century and thus the earliest known witnesses to the text.⁹⁸ Of these five, two have English provenances: Bodley 839 from Llanthony and BL, Cotton Titus D XVI, from St. Albans.⁹⁹

Abulafia and Evans have identified different families of *Disputatio* manuscripts and established the development of the text over the first century or so of its existence.¹⁰⁰ Llanthony's copy, Bodley 839, is the sole manuscript forming their fourth stage in the text's development. However, they note that it bears more resemblance to the four manuscripts which comprise the third stage of textual

⁹³ There are no known specific connections or contact between Llanthony and Durham. Llanthony is not mentioned in Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria*, which discusses Durham's library in some detail.

⁹⁴ A. Sapir Abulafia and G.R. Evans, *The Works of Gilbert Crispin Abbot of Westminster, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi VIII* (London, c.1986), p. xxviii.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxvii. There is no extant eleventh-century copy.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xi-xx.

⁹⁷ One has no specific English provenance; the sixth was written in England(?) but has a provenance of S.-Germain-des-Prés.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xi-xx.

⁹⁹ Of the remaining three, one is from S.-Evroult, one was written in Austria/Germany and one is Beneventan.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-8.

development than it does to other manuscripts, because it does not always give the longer readings which other manuscripts give.¹⁰¹ This is interesting, as the third stage group includes two manuscripts which, like Bodley 839, are early-twelfth-century and two manuscripts with English connections.¹⁰² Bodley 839's readings agree sometimes with this 'third stage' group, but at other times with manuscripts of the later, fifth and sixth stages of development. Abulafia and Evans therefore propose that Llanthony's copy represents an intermediate stage in the later development of the text.¹⁰³ Bodley 839 is one of five copies that do not have Gilbert's introductory letter to Anselm of Canterbury. This is a further link between it and the S.-Evrout manuscript, which also lacks this.¹⁰⁴

LP 61 (fos. 1-117; s. xii/xiii) is one of four extant witnesses to Alexander Nequam's (1157-1217) Gloss on the Psalter, a text that dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Nequam's interesting career encompassed study and teaching in Dunstable, St. Albans, Paris and Oxford before he entered (probably after 1197 but before 1202) the Augustinian foundation of Cirencester.¹⁰⁵ At Paris, his studies covered the liberal arts, theology, canon and civil law and medicine, some aspects of which are reflected in his known writings.¹⁰⁶ Alexander's Gloss on the Psalter was written c.1197 onwards, after he had entered Cirencester.¹⁰⁷ The text belongs to the scholastic type of exposition and makes considerable use of *distinctiones*, a development in biblical exegesis of the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁰⁸ Alexander constantly refers to pre-existing glosses, particularly those of Anselm of Laon.¹⁰⁹ His text thus reflects the contemporary scholastic *milieu*.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 5.

¹⁰² The third-stage group comprises the St. Albans MS of s. xiiⁱⁿ (Cotton Titus D XVI); a MS that is English(?) but has a provenance of Saint-Germain-des-Prés; the early-twelfth-century Beneventan MS and an unprovenanced twelfth-century MS. *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 5, n. 5.

¹⁰⁴ The S.-Evrout MS is, like Bodley 839, of early date (c.1113). *Ibid.*, p. xxviii, n. 16.

¹⁰⁵ R.W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: the Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157-1217)*, ed. and revised M. Gibson (Oxford, 1984), pp. 2-3, 10-11.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰⁷ All of Alexander's surviving major theological works were written after his entry into Cirencester: *ibid.*, p. 19. Hunt assigns the *Gloss on the Psalter* to the early part of Alexander's monastic career (*ibid.*, pp. 26-7).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100.

As well as Llanthony's copy of Alexander's Psalter gloss, two manuscripts of the text survive from Cirencester and one from Ramsay.¹¹⁰ That the dates of the surviving copies are concentrated closely around the composition of the text, combined with the west-country bias in their provenances, suggests that these manuscripts are closely related to the original or autograph copy(ies). The Jesus College manuscript of the *Gloss* contains a number of marginal additions. These are not found in LP 61, Llanthony's copy, and are found in Royal 2 C.xi and Bodley 284, but in the text. The additions were made by a current hand which, since the Jesus manuscript is contemporary with Alexander and was at Cirencester in the thirteenth century, Hunt suggests is Alexander's own.¹¹¹ These early copies are supplemented by references to this text in medieval library catalogues, which suggest that its geographical and chronological appeals were not as limited as the extant witnesses imply.¹¹²

The proximity of Alexander and Cirencester to Llanthony Secunda probably played a part in Llanthony's acquisition of this text soon after its composition, especially as three-quarters of the surviving manuscripts are from the area surrounding Cirencester. Hunt notes Alexander's connections with nearby monasteries, specifically Malmesbury and Sareshel. One of Alexander's works, the *Laus sapientie divine*, was sent to the convent at Gloucester.¹¹³ An association between Alexander and Llanthony is known: a case in which Alexander was an ecclesiastical judge shows that, in the winter of 1204-5, he spoke on behalf of the prior of Llanthony in his dispute with the Earl of Hereford.¹¹⁴ In a wider sense, Llanthony's acquisition of this text is a strand of the web of connections between monasteries in the west of England of which Llanthony was part.

¹¹⁰ BL, Royal 2 C.xi (Ramsey; s. xiii); LP 61 (fos. 1-117) (Llanthony; s. xiii¹) (text lacks Pss. 30:8-33:2, 56:4-67:10); Bodley 284 (Cirencester; s. xiii¹); Oxford, Jesus College 94 (Cirencester; s. xiiiⁱⁿ) (lacks Pss. 37:2-90:16). *Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1.

¹¹² MSS are recorded at Bury St. Edmunds; Christ Church, Canterbury; Kelso; Llanthony Secunda (LP 61); Leicester Canons Regular; the Royal Library; Peterborough and St. Albans (*ibid.*, p. 134).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13, n. 59-60. Llanthony's mid-fourteenth-century library catalogue records two now-lost copies of Alexander's *Corrogationes Promethei* (A16.264b, A16.493). Hunt notes that the surviving MSS of the *Corrogationes* (which were written around the same time as Alexander's Psalter gloss) are mostly hardly later than the end of the 1200s (*ibid.*, p. 119). It is therefore probable that the copies recorded in Harley 460 were written soon after the text's composition.

Teresa Webber's study of Salisbury's library c.1075-c.1125 allows some comparison between the textual communities of that house and those of Llanthony. The Salisbury canons, unusual in the range of texts that they acquired, obtained exemplars from English and continental sources.¹¹⁵ Salisbury had access to imported exemplars (most famously HCL O.iii.2) from Normandy, continental centres which had had contacts with Irish scholars, Carolingian centres (e.g. Corbie and Lorsch) and the Low Countries.¹¹⁶ Several texts copied at Salisbury bear witness to traditions otherwise un-represented by English manuscripts, which suggests that Salisbury had independent continental sources of exemplars that were untapped by other English centres. By contrast, Llanthony did not apparently acquire such exceptional material. In several cases, Webber comments that Salisbury's manuscripts were made directly from an imported exemplar,¹¹⁷ but further work would be needed to ascertain whether Llanthony had direct access to foreign exemplars where one is indicated for the texts discussed above, or whether an intermediary was used. Certain texts copied at Salisbury represent Anglo-Saxon textual traditions; others are related to late-eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscripts associated with other English centres. Whilst it is possible to identify some centres from which the Salisbury canons obtained exemplars, such as Exeter and, probably, Sherborne, there is no correspondence between the texts copied at Salisbury and the contents of pre-Conquest books from other important south-western centres (such as Glastonbury, Bath or Malmesbury). Salisbury does not seem, therefore, unlike Llanthony, to have benefited from its closest geographical sources of exemplars. Indeed, Salisbury was remarkably independent from other English centres in the acquisition of exemplars and its collection should not be seen as wholly representative of the kinds made elsewhere in England in the century before or after the Conquest.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Webber, *Salisbury*, chapter 3 for what follows.

¹¹⁶ The last had an important role in the transmission of classical texts in the eleventh century. Salisbury had an unusual collection of classical Latin texts, for which its copies are the earliest surviving or only extant English witnesses.

¹¹⁷ *Salisbury*, p. 47.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

This brief exploration of the textual community of Llanthony's pre-1250 manuscripts indicates several broad contexts through which it may have obtained exemplars, although as these observations are based on only a small sample of Llanthony's early acquisitions, the patterns arising therefrom are provisional. Unsurprisingly for an English foundation amassing books during the 1100s, the heritage of some of Llanthony's texts is continental. Norman influence, whilst present, is not overwhelming. The recension of the *Confessiones* that circulated in the west-country is ultimately of Flemish heritage, whilst Llanthony's copy of Bede's *In Genesim* is related to one from Bobbio.¹¹⁹ Some other texts (e.g. the *Sermones De verbis Domini et Apostoli*) were popular on both sides of the Channel in the 1100s and, whilst it is not currently known whether Llanthony's copy is directly related to any of the continental ones, the importation of the text from the continent ultimately influenced twelfth-century English copies. More immediate, perhaps, are links between Llanthony and other English centres, particularly west-country ones. Of the texts considered above, a local exemplar is most likely for Llanthony's manuscript of Nequam on the Psalms. The copies of Bede on Mark from Llanthony and Cirencester are both of s. xii^{med}, whilst the rare Bedan text *De muliere forti* survives in coeval copies from Llanthony and Gloucester. The ultimate Flemish heritage of Llanthony's copies of Augustine's *Confessiones* is perhaps less immediate than the facts that once in England, the recension circulated in the south-west and that other coeval manuscripts are from nearby centres. These manuscripts are certainly candidates for future investigation. Ultimately, were a text popular, Llanthony's exemplar for it might have come from anywhere, but nearby centres are the most likely suppliers. Unfortunately, potentially relevant local book collections, such as those of Pershore and Evesham, have been decimated. Most regrettably, the disappearance of the library of Gloucester Abbey, a major Benedictine collection on Llanthony Secunda's doorstep, is a huge impediment to an investigation of the sources of Llanthony's early books and means that some aspects thereof will remain unknown. Gloucester, the most easily accessible collection to Llanthony Secunda, is likely to be the key to Llanthony's holdings and one would expect there to be parallels between the two. It is possible that textual relationships

¹¹⁹ That this Bobbio MS is itself related to coeval copies from Corbie and St. Gallen indicates the ease with which textual families transcend geographical classification.

between Llanthony's books and those from other west-country foundations may, additionally, not be first-hand, with Gloucester being the missing intermediary. The loss of surrounding communities' books means that Llanthony's texts appear isolated and make it the kingpin in representing ordinary west-country collections as they once were.¹²⁰

As a postscript to this investigation, we might note Llanthony's own likely role in the ongoing dissemination of certain texts. We saw in chapter 3 that the two earliest copies of Anselm of Canterbury's *De humanis moribus per similitudines* have an early Llanthony provenance and that dissemination of this text seemingly occurred from Llanthony or a vicinal house. Indeed, one of the six manuscripts of this text, of Titchfield provenance, is a direct copy of one of the Llanthony ones. Likewise, Llanthony would have possessed the earliest manuscripts of the works of its house authors, from which (although, as yet, untested by textual collation) later copies doubtless descend. Other textual links indicate that Llanthony assisted neighbouring book collections. The late-twelfth-century Llanthony book LP 142 (fos. 1-123), one of four copies of an abridgement of Peter of Poitiers's *Sententiae*, was copied (probably at Llanthony) as WCL F.50 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ), which subsequently reached Worcester.¹²¹ The text of LP 142 includes insertions and glosses of c.1200, including a number of quotations of Peter of Corbeil, and the manuscript is linked to a further three books with west-country connections, two of which also contain glosses by Peter of Corbeil.¹²² None of the scholarly works of Peter of Corbeil has been identified, rendering significant the references to him in these manuscripts. The Llanthony manuscript seems to be the central one of this group and contains insertions from English sources, particularly two collections of *quaestiones* of s. xii².¹²³ Rathbone concludes that, c. 1200, there was 'keen interest' in the west country in developments in speculative theology, among scholars whose

¹²⁰ None of the texts here considered has any Welsh heritage.

¹²¹ Thomson, *Worcester*, p. 31.

¹²² LP 142 is connected palaeographically to two unprovenanced MSS, one of which has a gloss almost identical to that in HCL O.viii.9 (s. xii², a gift of Ralph Foliot) (E. Rathbone, 'Peter of Corbeil in an English Setting', *Medieval Learning and Literature*..., ed. Alexander and Gibson, pp. 287-306, pp. 288-9).

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 291-6.

activities are revealed by these manuscripts.¹²⁴ This group of manuscripts indicates scholarly activity at Llanthony by people familiar with both contemporary French scholastic doctrine and the work of unidentified masters who may be more local – who could, indeed, have been Llanthony canons. Secondly, it demonstrates Llanthony acting as a source of texts for nearby Worcester. A relationship between Llanthony and Cirencester - hinted at by the Nequam manuscripts discussed above - is further indicated by the collection of the letters of Fulbert of Chartres in the Llanthony book Royal 11 A.x, which shares an exemplar with a Cirencester copy.¹²⁵ Other potential links, suggested by the relative dates of Llanthony's copy of some texts and other extant copies, are currently untested.¹²⁶ These few preliminary findings further indicate that there was a local network of copying and suggest that there is plenty of scope for more investigation of Llanthony's rôle as a disseminator of texts.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

¹²⁵ HCL P.II.15 (s. xii¹) (Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, p. 80).

¹²⁶ For example, a homily in Royal 8 D.viii (c.1130) (f. 170^v) is also found in a similarly-dated Gloucester book and a thirteenth-century book from Abbey Dore. Other copies survive from Durham (s. xii^{med}) and Launde (s. xiv^{med}) (*ibid.*, p. 10). Llanthony's copies of Augustine's *Confessiones* (s. xiiⁱⁿ; xii^{med}) pre-date the Hereford one (s. xii^{med}); Llanthony's could therefore have acted as the exemplar for Hereford's. Similarly, Llanthony's MS of Ailred's *Speculum Caritatis* (LP 397; s. xii^{2/4}) pre-dates the only other surviving twelfth-century English copy, from Buildwas (Cambridge, St. John's College, MS D.2; s. xii^{ex}).

¹²⁷ By contrast, Webber's collation of Salisbury's manuscripts has not demonstrated that they themselves were exemplars for copies associated with other centres (*Salisbury*, p. 58).

Chapter 7

Llanthony Secunda's Second Century of Collecting (c.1250-c.1350)

We now consider the books surviving from Llanthony Secunda's second century of collecting (c.1250-c.1350). They are fewer than those from the previous hundred years, suggesting that the impetus for acquisition had somewhat lessened.¹ Whether this was because the books accrued by c.1250 were considered generally sufficient for the community's needs, or because another circumstance, such as lack of funds or direction, intervened, is unclear. By c.1250, Llanthony possessed a corpus of patristics, theological commentaries and glossed biblical books that would have satisfied the quotidian reading requirements of its canons, plus small holdings in more specialised areas. However, by this time, fashions in book collecting had changed. The influence of the universities and the Friars brought a range of new works, Llanthony's response to which will be examined here. The evidence concerning Llanthony Prima, an independent community for the whole of this period, is very slim.

Theology continues to be foremost in Llanthony's acquisitions of this period. The priory's twelfth- and earlier-thirteenth-century manuscripts suggest a particular concern for patristics and modern theology. The virtual absence of patristic material from Llanthony's manuscripts of c.1250-c.1350 is, therefore, a startling change from what has gone before. Indeed, a copy of Augustine's *De spiritu et anima* is the sole representative of the work of the Fathers in these manuscripts.² Late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century theology does though continue to appear. Some authors represented would have been known to Llanthony's canons via the community's earlier acquisitions - for example, an early-fourteenth-century volume brought another copy of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, bound with the *Summa* of Peter of Poitiers, to which memoranda relating to the late-fourteenth-century translations of two saints

¹ There is, inevitably, some overlap between the earlier books considered in this chapter and the later books covered in the previous chapter.

² OCCC 154.

special to Llanthony, Kenan and Kyneburg, were subsequently appended.³ It is likely that this book was acquired in the course of a Llanthony canon's time at university. Several writers not hitherto found in the surviving corpus also appear, as will be shown by the books that we now discuss.

Two complex thirteenth-century manuscripts are devoted chiefly to sermons, many anonymous. Most of the identifiable ones in LP 481 are by twelfth-century authors. They therefore indicate the thirteenth-century interest in sermons, but may not (with the exception of Odo of Cheriton's) reflect contemporary circumstances. Rather than indicating Llanthony's tardiness in collecting up-to-date material, the acquisition of older sermons may complement that of twelfth-century scholastic material or reflect the continuing circulation of twelfth-century sermons in the 1200s. Most of the identifiable authors are 'French' and several are connected to the University of Paris, in keeping with twelfth-century trends. Attributable sermons include one on the Annunciation by Peter Cantor;⁴ one by Peter of Poitiers;⁵ one by Hilduinus/Hildewinus of Paris;⁶ and one by Anselm.⁷ There is also an anonymous *Sermo ad scolares*.⁸ One sermon is part of an acknowledged collection of anonymous sermons;⁹ others are from Odo of Cheriton's (d.1247) *Sermones de euangeliiis sanctorum*.¹⁰ Also found in this volume are Llanthony's fourth copy of Hugh of S.-Victor's *De institutione*

³ OCCC 159. See chapter 8 for details of Llanthony's involvement in these events.

⁴ *Sermo [Petri] Cantoris parisiacensis de [Annunc.] b. Marie virginis*.

⁵ The MS's incipit is *Nicholaus iste meus* (fos. 29-31^v) = J.B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350* (Münster, 1973) [henceforth *Repertorium* plus volume, page and item number] 9.47 no. 34: *Nicolao. Nicolaus iste meus, imo vester, electus ab utero, sanctus a puero* = P. Pictaviensis n. 9: *Nicolao Ab infanta mea mecum crevit* (Job 31, 18) - *Nicolaus iste meus, immo et vester, electus ab aeterno, sanctus a puero, juvenum gloria, reverentia semum...quod meritis beatissimae virginis Mariae in nobis facere dignetur....* Schneyer lists this incipit under Bodl., Laud misc. 223 (s. xii, unprovenanced).

⁶ Chancellor of the University of Paris 1178-90. The MS incipit is *Sermo. Audi filia...Tres legimus celestis uerbi auditore'* (fos. 39^v - 40^v) = Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 2.717 no. 27: *BMV Audi filia et vide* (Ps. 44, 11) - *Tres legimus caelestis verbi auditores pigros, activos, contemplativos. Pigri torpent, activi laborant, contemplativi quiescunt...amica in lecto, in quo nobis requiem tribuat.*

⁷ *Sermo Magistri Anselmi. Dixi Confitebor...* (fos. 70^v-75^v).

⁸ F. 88.

⁹ *Plantaverat dominus deus. Legitur de paradiso terrestri* (fos. 65^v - 66^v): Schneyer's index has *Plantaverat Dominus Deus...Legimus de paradiso caelesti* (*Repertorium*, 9.47 no. 19: *De BMV. Plantaverat Dominus paradisum* [Gen. 2, 8] - *Legimus de paradiso caelesti et de paradiso terrestri* [my underlining]). Like the sermon of Peter of Poitiers above, this is listed under Laud misc. 223: *Sermones anonymi*.

¹⁰ Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1134, notes that Schneyer (*Repertorium*) records some 70 copies of this, to which LP 481 (an incomplete copy) may be added.

nouiciorum, Defensor of Ligugé's *Scintillarium* and Walter de Châtillon's (d. s. xiii^m) *De trinitate et de incarnatione Christi*. This book consists mostly of short texts and extracts by numerous scribes, many of which occupy little more than a page. It could have belonged to an individual: it is small and easily portable, contains a range of texts plus notes and is not especially high status. Were it not in so many different hands, it might seem to be a personal compilation. A thirteenth-century inscription (f. 176^r) records the book's connection with *d\no/W. Capellano de cradeley* (Cradley, Worcs.) and the flyleaf bears a bold (red and blue capitals) summary of the volume's content.¹¹

Sermons are also found in LP 398. The first volume contains one by Praepositinus de Cremona (d.1210).¹² Anonymous sermons follow, including some on the Sunday and other Gospels and the Common and Proper of Saints. One sermon may also appear in a sermon collection from Worcester.¹³ Volume V contains sermons on miscellaneous texts. This manuscript also holds Llanthony's second copy of Richard of Wetheringsett's *Summa Qui bene praesunt*¹⁴ and an extract from the *Gesta Pilati*, together with a short version of the *Descensus ad inferos* (e.g the 'Gospel of Nichodemus').¹⁵ Its fourth volume may contain the *Allegoriae* of the Carolingian scholar Rabanus Maurus¹⁶ and a short *concordantiae* occupies the sixth volume. The majority of the remainder of the book is occupied by theological material.¹⁷ This manuscript is, therefore, a 'Bible' handbook - a guide to various aspects of Scripture, of use to preachers

¹¹ F. 189^r.

¹² Chancellor of the University of Paris 1206-1209. The incipit is *Uerbum dulce multiplicat amicos. Verbum dulce multiplicat amicos et lingua eucharis* [Eccli. 6, 5] - *Hoc verbum pertulit Isaias. qui non minus certe loquebatur de Domino...fructus nobis tum non erit* = Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 4.872 no. 33.

¹³ *Saluatorem expectamus...* - also in WCL, Q.11 (fos. 38^v-9) (s. xii^{3/4}, containing sermons mostly anonymous and unique to this MS, which was probably made at Worcester).

¹⁴ It appears also in LP 392 (fos. 29^r-55^v) (s. xiii^m). This item is incorrectly attributed to William de Montibus in the MS.

¹⁵ The *Gesta Pilati*, an apocryphal account of the trial, death and Resurrection of Christ, had attached to it in some manuscripts (such as this one) an independent treatise on the descent of Christ into Hades. From the thirteenth century, the two together were sometimes known as the 'Gospel of Nichodemus'.

¹⁶ If by Rabanus, it would be a rare example of Carolingian scholarship in the Llanthony corpus.

¹⁷ Including extracts from Gregory and Augustine and notes on the Commandments (f. 83^v); lines on the pains of Hell (f. 84^v); notes on Judas and the Eucharist (f. 86^v); *De significationibus quorundam verborum in scriptura* (fos. 149-184) and *De signif. verborum in scriptura* (fos. 192-196^v); and a gloss on parts of John, Jude and Revelation (fos. 183-4).

and scholars. Its content is typical of the thirteenth century.¹⁸ A faint pencil note at the end of the sixth volume implies that it may once have been in Ireland and adds this book to the list of Llanthony volumes with an Irish link.¹⁹

The third volume of LP 398 introduces another theme of the thirteenth-century theological material in Llanthony's manuscripts: work reflecting changes in the church, echoing in particular the influence of the Friars on religious and intellectual life. The impetus given to preaching by the Friars in the 1200s is reflected in manuscripts - by concordances, *distinctiones* and collections of approved sermons - and at universities. LP 398 contains the *Summa de paenitentia* of the canonist Raymond of Penafort, OP (d.1275).²⁰ This handbook for confessors has two recensions, the later composed from 1234 onwards. It treated sins against God, against neighbours, and the sacrament of orders and functions of ecclesiastical ministry, as well as the administration of penance, which would presumably not have been as relevant to Llanthony's canons as to the Friars.²¹ The appearance of this text here nevertheless indicates that the priory was acquiring work by contemporary authors, possibly within their lifetime.

The influence of the Friars is further indicated by two thirteenth-century copies of Llanthony provenance of the Dominican William Peraldus's (d.1275) *Summa de uitiis et uirtutibus*, the best-known and most influential treatise on the virtues and vices. Usefully, the composition of these texts can be dated quite precisely: the *De uiciis* was finished c.1236, the *De uirtutibus* c.1248, and they were in circulation together from c.1250. Llanthony's copies are, therefore, early witnesses. The earlier, BL, Cotton Appendix xxiv, contains the important

¹⁸ Another text in LP 398, inc. *Angelus. purus in natura reconciliator* (fos. 192-196) is probably to be identified with a collection of *proprietates rerum* in the nature of a thesaurus which begins *Angelus purus est in natura* and is found in BL, Royal 7 C.v, an early-thirteenth-century MS from Bury St. Edmunds, to which it is a slightly later addition (Warner and Gilson, *Cat. Roy.*).

¹⁹ As suggested and transcribed by James, *Catalogue: Neiuim U Donevaldus uenator de uilla...beati f...fil [?] Rogeri de gafin de iii [?] c'no/noc' psal.....auen' eidem Rogero / Johannes de Villa helie ep' de g..... ut dicitur. ...* On a formerly blank page (f. 45^v) is *Godefridus Hogeles vj sol. quos debet R [?] de beauchamp*: presumably a rent/private debt rather than a university pledge.

²⁰ Fos. 87-148^r.

²¹ This would depend on the canons' level of interaction with the local population. They may well have had cause to preach outside the cloister and educational duties in their parishes.

inscription *Summ\al de Viciis capitalibus de dono Willi' p\ri/oris*, indicating the rôle of donation in the formation of the collection during this period.²² The second copy, LP 390 (fos. 1-104 [135]^v), dates from late in the century and further demonstrates the importance of sermons during this period, as its second volume contains a *Concordantie S. themata*, a text which is divided into thematic sections and is a pastoral/thematic encyclopaedia from which sermons might be constructed.²³ The book's final pages hold headings and notes for sermons in working, cursive hands; its first folios contain some interesting notes and inscriptions, including one in Middle English.²⁴ These notes and the concordance reflect this book's practical nature. Finally, the *Flores Bernardi* (*Bernardinum*) of William of Tournai, OP, survives in a mid-thirteenth-century manuscript of probable English origin.²⁵

Several manuscripts suggest that some of Llanthony's canons of this time may have been university-educated.²⁶ Three portions of LP 394 contain anonymous theological *quaestiones*, arranged thematically.²⁷ The volume is therefore a compilation of thought on theological themes, ultimately reflecting a university environment. A late-thirteenth-century volume demonstrates knowledge at Llanthony of scholastic theology in the form of the *super Quartum sententiarum* of the great and controversial Dominican Thomas Aquinas (1225-74).²⁸ His views received an episcopal condemnation in 1277 (repeated at Oxford by the Dominican Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Kilwardby), were reinstated the

²² See further below.

²³ *De auersione in generali, de reuocatione, de conuersione, de merito et eccl. sacramentis, de premio.*

²⁴ A later hand writes *secundum leonem papam: quod Bmkr/fk* [*flourish*] (James, *Catalogue*: *amirlei?*), which is followed by *Leon ye pope fyndyth by wrytyng / Of thre yestys th\at/ beth in speciall / By the wych euery syn [n overlined] in man regnyng / Hys ouercome and put into a fall / The fyrst hys exspressy d by name / Beryg to leve to god his plesabyll / The secund largyte th\at/ causyth good fame / The thryd chevyle to god hys commendabyll* (f. i^v; James's transcription; ink lines are drawn connecting the rhyming ends of the lines as though someone has been studying the rhyme). An earlier note on f. ii^r is the source of this: *Leo papa . Nichil est validius...quam benignitas...et largitas caritatis.*

²⁵ Bodleian, Hatton 49.

²⁶ Although there continues to be no evidence to document the attendance at university of particular Llanthony canons.

²⁷ Volume II: *Quaestiones de anima rationali* (fos. 50^r-61^r); *Quaestiones de rebus* (fos. 63-86^r, ending on inserted slip) (including *formulae* and *obligaciones*). Vol. III: *Questiones de angelis* (fos. 87^r-108^r) (108^v: *formulae*). Vol. IV: *Questiones de demonibus* (fos. 109^r-ends imperf. 136^v). Plate XXXIV.

²⁸ LP 58.

following year, and condemned again at Oxford in 1284 by the new Archbishop, the Franciscan John Pecham. However, this manuscript may post-date this period of controversy. For few books of c.1250-c.1350 is there information about how they reached Llanthony, but an inscription in LP 58 records its acquisition through one of the community's priors.²⁹ Aquinas is further represented by his *sermones de sanctis* in OCCC 33.³⁰ In view of the central role played by Aristotle in the scholastic theology of the later thirteenth century, it is appropriate that Llanthony should have had a copy of his *Metaphysica* in a manuscript of s. xiii/xiv.³¹

LP 200 (fos. 114-63) consists of many portions and contains a number of anonymous texts and notes. Following a note on the Holy Land and pencil lists of Biblical books (f. 116^v), most of this section is occupied by *distinctiones* on the Psalter in tabular form and a thirteenth-century hand. Folios 160^v-161^v hold notes on the Old Testament, in another hand, and folios 162^r-163^r an exposition of the Lord's Prayer and Creed in a fourteenth-century hand. An inscription links this book to Llanthony Prima.³² It is the only volume of this period that can be linked to the mother-house.

Devotional material is found in a book dating from c.1300. OCCC 42 is a *Mariale*, containing a collection of tales from the *Miracula beatae Virginis Mariae*, a compilation made in England between c.1100 and 1140. In the same volume are *Narrationes de eucharistia* (an account of miracles which occurred during the celebration of the Mass), the *Narraciones de libro Barlaam et Josephat*, 'Romulus', *Fabulae* and Isidore's *Liber de vita et obitu patrum*.³³ This is an interesting mix of narrative material, of a sort otherwise unusual in Llanthony's collection. An appealing collection of devotional texts in a slightly

²⁹ *Liber Lanthon' iux\ta/ Gloucestr' per Willm' p\ri/orem* (plate XXXV) (discussed further below).

³⁰ Alongside anonymous sermons, *auctoritates*, *sententiae* and *definitiones orthodoxorum et philosophorum* (the last also in the thirteenth-century Coventry Cathedral volume Bodleian, Douce 139).

³¹ LP 55 (fos. i, ii, 1-156, 162). A scholastic milieu is indeed suggested by a *cautio* on the final page: (*Caucio A de Walway[?] pro...*). The book's presence at Llanthony by the late fourteenth century is attested by its appearance in H460 (A16.199).

³² *Iste liber est [erasure, perhaps of more than one word] p\ri/oris Lanth' p\ri/me*. (f. 114^v).

³³ OCCC 42 also contains a hymn to the Virgin, one of several present in thirteenth-century MSS (e.g. OCCC 59).

later manuscript, OCCC 36 (s. xivⁱⁿ), is distinctive because, with the exception of some sermons in Latin, it is in French. The book contains a corrupt copy of Maurice de Sully's *Sermones* in the Anglo-Norman translation,³⁴ the Anglo-Norman translation of St. Edmund (Archbishop) of Canterbury's (otherwise Rich or of Abingdon) *Speculum ecclesie* (the *Mirour de seinte eglyse*),³⁵ a poem in Anglo-Norman French on the five signs of the day of judgement and, occupying the majority of the volume, fragments of a Bible translation in Anglo-Norman French.³⁶

Contemporary hagiography is represented in these manuscripts by, interestingly, the sole copy of the *vita* of Archbishop Edmund of Canterbury, found in a volume containing chiefly legal material.³⁷ Service books continue to be largely absent from the Llanthony corpus. A valuable witness to recent liturgical practice, and to the influence of the Paris- and Bologna-educated Pope Innocent III (d.1216), is *De sacro altaris mysterio*.³⁸ The only other survivor is a short *catechismus*.³⁹

Llanthony's pre-c.1250 corpus as it now survives contains little indication of interest in law at the priory, despite the increasing study of the subject in university contexts from the late 1100s. However, several examples of both canon and civil law are extant from Llanthony Secunda's second century of collecting, although the total holdings are still not extensive.

Llanthony had, in a late-twelfth-century manuscript, a copy of Gratian's

³⁴ Maurice (d. 1196), Bishop of Paris, wrote a model sermon collection (in Latin) to help priests of the diocese of Paris in their Sunday or Feast-day preaching: D.L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), p. 25.

³⁵ Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 254 (d.1240, canonised 1248).

³⁶ The fact that this Bible is in French and shares a volume with other material suggests that it was for private rather than liturgical use. OCCC 36 is an addition to Llanthony's fourteenth-century library catalogue, making it a rare example of a book which can be certainly placed at the priory within a few decades of its production (A16.12).

³⁷ OCCC 154. *Quadrilogus de vita et moribus S. Edmundi de Pounteney, archiepiscopi cantuariensis...* (C.H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* [Oxford, 1960], p. 9). One of the authors was Richard of Dunstable, OP, fl. s. xiii^{med} (Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1311).

³⁸ LP 394 (fos. 1-49^v).

³⁹ OCCC 154.

Decretum, an essential legal treatise.⁴⁰ In the thirteenth century, it acquired several complementary texts: Sicard of Cremona's (d.1215) *Summa super decreto Gratiani pars 2*, composed in 1179/81 and an important early work on Gratian,⁴¹ and a commentary on the *Decretum Gratiani* by the mysterious S. de Bisigniaco.⁴² LP 80 (fos. 168-244) contains the *Breuiarium extravagantium* of the Italian canonist Bernardus Papiensis, latterly bishop of Pavia (d.1213), a collection comprising ancient canons not included in Gratian plus later documents, and composed between 1187 and 1191.⁴³

Llanthony also obtained three copies of the *Decretales* of Gregory IX in this period.⁴⁴ One is bound with Petrus Blesensis, *Speculum iuris canonici/De distinctionibus in canonum interpretatione adhibendis* and some anonymous legal tracts.⁴⁵ The second (s. xiii^{ex}) bears the incomplete gloss (later than the text) of Bernard de Compostella.⁴⁶ Continued interest in this volume in the fifteenth century is indicated by the presence of scribbles on the end-leaf.⁴⁷ The third copy (LP 103, s. xiii^{ex}) holds in addition the *Constitutiones* of Innocent III, of Gregory X and of Nicholai III (glossed). These manuscripts show the influence of the canonists reaching Llanthony, albeit a little belatedly.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ LP 449. The *Decretum Gratiani*, the first volume of the *Corpus iuris canonici*, was compiled in at least two recensions between 1139 and 1158, perhaps at Bologna (*Illuminating the Law: Medieval Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections*, ed. S. L'Engle and R. Gibbs, [London-Turnhout, 2001], p. 15). It was a systematic collection of excerpts from patristic writings, Church councils, papal letters and other ecclesiastical sources, plus extracts from Roman law in the second recension. Fundamental to the study of canon law in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the *Decretum* was part of the late-twelfth-century curriculum of the school of law at Oxford: L.E. Boyle, 'Canon Law Before 1380', *The History of the University of Oxford I: The Early Schools*, ed. J. I. Catto, (Oxford, 1984), pp. 531-564, p. 532.

⁴¹ OCCC 154, which may contain two copies of this text.

⁴² Probably to be identified with Simon de Bisignano, author of a *Summa Decreti*. LP 411.

⁴³ Inc. *Iuste iudicate et nolite iudicare secundum faciem*. Fos. 170^r-227^r. This MS also contains a thirteenth-century copy of a receipt of Innocent III to Stephen Langton (f. 169^r: *Ni/presumptorum punita temeritas nimis insolesceret*). The exact import of this is unclear; however, if it related to the Interdict, it would be of general relevance to English communities. Like LP 394 above, this book contains some short paragraphs written in a very small hand, perhaps added by a user of the book.

⁴⁴ Gregory IX's (d. 1241) collection of papal decretals was entrusted to Raymond of Penafort and completed in 1234.

⁴⁵ *Intro. ad Decretum Gratiani; Summa de ordine iudiciario 'Criminalia iudicia'; Distinctiones Decreti Oxonienses*. OCCC 154.

⁴⁶ LP 30.

⁴⁷ Including a fragment of music, a collect and some verses.

⁴⁸ Three MSS of the *Decretales nove* of similar date survive from Hereford, although their early provenances are unclear (see the index in Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*).

Llanthony also obtained some samples of civil law during this time. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 145 (s. xiii^{ex}), of metropolitan, English origin, contains Henry of Bracton's (d.1268) *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*, an institutional *summa* of English law traditionally thought to have been written in the middle of the thirteenth century.⁴⁹ This is a volume over which some care was taken: the parchment and hand are good and there is a lot of ornament. Deeds copied onto the final folios demonstrate Llanthony Secunda provenance.⁵⁰ Such a text would have been of potential value to Llanthony in the administration of its rights and properties. The small volume Rawl. C.331 (s. xiii^{ex}) holds two *Registrum brevium* (collections of writs) and two *summa*, the second of which is by Ralph Hengham (d.1311) – this copy therefore dates from within his lifetime.⁵¹ Although this volume is slight, the tiny script maximises the available space. A blank folio (2^v) holds some contemporary *anglicana* notes concerning Gloucester and Llanthony.

With four of the abovementioned manuscripts is bound interesting and valuable material relating to Llanthony itself. The early-fourteenth-century book OCCC 159 contains memoranda concerning the translation of Sts. Kenan and Kyneburg in 1383 and 1390. The other three relevant volumes hold legal texts - OCCC 154 (Sicard of Cremona, etc.), McClean 145 (Bracton) and Rawl. C.331 (*summae*). The choice of mainly legal (both canon and civil) texts as the hosts for such material seems likely to be because it was thought fitting to insert records concerning community business into books of legal authority.⁵²

Of the many short items concerning Llanthony in OCCC 154, the following may be highlighted here. The *carta fratris Walteri, prioris de Lanthonia* [Secunda],

⁴⁹ J.L. Barton, 'The Study of Civil Law before 1380', *History of the University of Oxford I*, ed. Catto, pp. 519-530, p. 520, n. 2 suggests that the work in its modern form is of multiple authorship and that the book which forms its core was written in the 1220s and revised by a number of hands before receiving the attention of a redactor, who worked in the middle of the century.

⁵⁰ Plate XXXVI.

⁵¹ The first *summa* is *Summa de placitis* and is in French (incipit '*Fet asaver a commencement de checun play ky est pleyde en la cour de rey, ou ceo est play de tere, ou de trespas, ou de amedens*' [e.g. digest of cases pleaded in the royal court]). The second is *Summa magna de Hengham*. Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1247: Ralph Hengham was chief justice of the King's Bench.

⁵² It is noteworthy that a fourth legal book of this period book discussed above, LP 411 (a commentary on Gratian) probably formerly also contained a tract relating to Llanthony's affairs: the now-missing *Fructus sive pensiones quas Hibernia tenebatur solvere Monasterio Lanthoniae*.

procuratoribus in Hibernia missa... records the receipt of revenues from Ireland.⁵³ The *litterae, quibus obligat se W. prior de Lanthonia solvere Thomae Spiliati [of Spoleto?] aliisque mercatoribus Florentinis xxx. marcas et xiiij. solidos, in usum prioratus mutuatos, infra octavas Nativit. S. Joh. Bapt. an. 1260,* given at London on 26th April the same year, suggests metropolitan (and overseas) connections. The charter *Ottoboni S. Adriani diac. Cardinalis ad Priorem de Lanthonia carta de W. de N. et H. filio ejusdem de Judaeis ad fidem Christianam conversis* suggests Llanthony's involvement in wider church affairs. The dates of the transactions recorded in these documents, where known, range between 1231 and 1276.⁵⁴

The documents on the final leaves of Fitzwilliam, McClean 145, written in several hands, concern some of Llanthony's early fourteenth-century business activities.⁵⁵ These documents seem virtually contemporary with the *acta* in question and are therefore good evidence of this book's Llanthony provenance from the early 1300s. They are also valuable witnesses to priory business.⁵⁶ Why were these particular documents entered into this book and at whose instigation? Although there appears to be nothing distinguishing or especially important about the transactions that they record, their dates may be suggestive: all of the *acta* occurred during the priorate of John of Chandos (1300-c.1322): could it have been at his direction that they were entered here? (although they must constitute only a tiny fraction of the business conducted during his long priorate). A volume of land law would have been a useful and appropriate tool

⁵³ Another item relating to Llanthony's business in Ireland is *F. de Thurleby, vicecom. Dublinensis, ad J. de Verdun, Breve contra magistrum de Dumeltone aliosque, qui Stephanum de Foleburne, ad decimam in Hibernia colligendam deputatum, male tractaverant.*

⁵⁴ Full analysis of the material relating to Llanthony in this MS would undoubtedly yield valuable information about the priory's affairs in the 1200s, particularly since it pre-dates or is roughly coeval with the earliest surviving cartulary.

⁵⁵ a) 2 Non. Jan. 1313. John, Prior of Llanthony Secunda to John Bishop of Llandaff, presenting John de Aku to the Vicarage of Caldecote; b) xv Kal. Jan. 1313. The same to Richard Bishop of Hereford, asking him to ordain Will. de Lemestre, clerk, to the title of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene outside Gloucester; c) 18 Oct. 4 Edw. II. The same acknowledging receipt of a mark due in Chardeleye confirmed to them by Aymer de Valence; d) Pope John (XXII) setting forth the case of Thomas Bishop of Meath, whose deputies for visiting the church of St. Kenan at Duleek (Ireland) belonging to Llanthony had been refused admittance. 6 Kal. Mar. 3rd year of pontificate; e) 5 Id. Mai. 1319. John Prior of Llanthony. Reply to above (?): badly written; f) St. Dunstan's Day. 12 Ed. II. The same appointing John Parage (Burgens. de Baldocke) bailiff of the manor of Henl.... Plate XXXVI.

⁵⁶ Since no surviving cartularies or registers cover the early fourteenth century, these are probably the only copies of these transactions.

for the head of a community (or one of his officials) to have at his ready disposal (likewise the canon law in OCCC 154). Signs that McClean 145 was indeed used are the pointing fingers acting as *nota*-marks and the marginal notes, which are often accompanied by grotesques. Although briefer, the information relating to Llanthony in Rawl. C.331 nonetheless further demonstrates this tendency to record information regarding priory affairs in recent legal manuscripts. The documents in these volumes herald the beginning of a greater survival rate for material concerning Llanthony's administration: not only the cartularies, registers and rentals of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the fourteenth-century library catalogue, but also the material in fourteenth-century manuscripts that concerns Llanthony's liturgical life.

In addition to the items specifically pertaining to Llanthony, OCCC 154 contains material relating to the Augustinian order's chapters of 1231, 1233, 1237 and 1276.⁵⁷

Whilst most of the material in Llanthony's manuscripts of c.1250-c.1350 is either theological or legal, there are hints of concern for other subjects. Some interest in English history and geography is suggested. A book of the first half of the fourteenth century contains Henry of Huntingdon's (1084-1155) *Historia Anglorum*, plus a continuation to 1203.⁵⁸ A note places the volume at Llanthony (presumably Secunda) shortly after its production.⁵⁹ Amongst the multitude of material in OCCC 154 are a *Descriptio brevis Angliae, in qua adnumerantur schirae, episcopatus, "hydes" in unoquoque comitatu*⁶⁰ and a *tabula chronologica eventuum exhibens seriem ab origine mundi usque ad scriptoris*

⁵⁷ *Provisiones in capitulo Londoniensi factae, apud S. Bartholomaeum, 1231; Constitutiones factae in capitulo Exoniensi apud Exoniam, 1233; Constitutiones factae in capitulo Norhamtonensi an. 1237; Statuta in capitulo generali Leycestriae celebrato in octavis S. Trinitatis, anno 1276, praesidentibus in eodem capitulo dominis Priore de Bernewelle, loco abbatis de Leycestria substituto, et Priore de Merton.* There is also *Nomina abbatum et priorum abbates proprios non habentium ordinis S. Augustini in dyocesi Cantuariensi existentium.*

⁵⁸ BL, Add. 24061.

⁵⁹ At the foot of f. 142^r is the s. xiv^l memorandum *Gaufridus prior Lant' consecratur*. This presumably refers to Godfrey of Banbury of Llanthony Secunda, thought to have succeeded c.1241, probably the unnamed prior whose cessation is recorded in 1251 and who was apparently reinstated in the 1260s (*HRH II*, p. 414).

⁶⁰ Other copies include (but may not be limited to) LCL 98 (s. xii^{med}/s. xiii, whose Lincoln provenance is post-medieval); BL, Royal 14 C.vi (s. xiv, Holme St. Benets/Tintern[?]); Bodleian, Lyell 17 (s. xiv, St. Mary's, York) and Fairfax 20 (s. xiv, Norwich Cathedral) and Cambridge, Peterhouse, 196 (unprovenanced).

ipsius aetatem, annum scilicet 1268. Historical writing is also represented by a thirteenth-century note apparently concerning early Kentish history and royal genealogy.⁶¹

The theology in LP 481 is accompanied by an anonymous tract on logic⁶² and a vocabulary. Particularly interesting is a tract on the liberal arts in the second volume of LP 398, the seemingly unique copy of William Mesel's *De septem artibus*. No details of the author are forthcoming, although Canon Morgan of Carmarthen's contents list for this book calls him *magister*.⁶³ OCCC 154 contains a *Carmen de amicitia* in French.

A rare extant example of medical work at Llanthony survives in the form of LP 409, which consists of four volumes ranging in date from the late thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries. This compendium contains Geraldus Bituricensis's *Summa de modo medendi*; a text on compounding medicines;⁶⁴ a text beginning *Quoniam disputationem simplicis medicine*,⁶⁵ John de S. Amando, *Super antidotarium*, and a tract on surgery.⁶⁶ The third and fourth volumes both hold the same text, Gilbertus Anglicus's commentary on Giles of Corbeil's (d. c.1220) *De urinis*. The second copy is glossed by a hand of Italian aspect. Gilbert *floruit* in the early thirteenth century and LP 409 appears to be one of the earliest extant

⁶¹ LP 200 (fos. 114-63). F. 115^r: *Anna Rex Orientali pr' [title] / Sex burga filia huius nupsit Erconberto Regi. Cantuariorum [flourish] hic patrem habuit Eadaldum auum sanctum Rege / Adelbertum. [sororem eius Edeldreda between lines 1 and 2] qui recepit S[---] Augustinum. et eius consortium. Soror Sexb\ur/ge Adeldreda duos habuit maritos Earum / soror Adelberga. que nauem ascendens. mare per\ra/nsiit. Iter peregr\ri/nationis arripiens in b\ri/gensi. monasterio abatisse functa' est / officio. et plena uirtutibus req\ui/euit in domino. Rex anna peremptus est a q\uo/dam gentili duce [blotch] merciorum. Sexb\ur/ga duos habuit filios / Reges. Egbertum et Lotarium. et duas filias Ermenildam. et Erkengodam. Ermenilda nupsit Wulfero / Regi merciorum. de eo suscepit filiam sanctam Wereburgam. Erkengoda peregr\ri/nando c\ir/cuiuit [?] loca sancta [uncertain, obscured by blotch].*

⁶² *Locus argumenti medius alius a causa alius a coniugatis et alius a diuisione* (fos. 175^r-180^v).

⁶³ See appendix 4. James, *Catalogue*, prints the text; Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 2125.

⁶⁴ Said by James, *Catalogue*, to be also by Gerald, although its incipit matches that of Copho (?), *De conficiendis medicinis*: L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin* (London, 1963), col. 540.

⁶⁵ Whose incipit matches that of the prologue of the *Liber de gradibus simplicium* (possibly by Isaac Iudaeus [855-955], trans. Constantinus Africanus) (*ibid.*, col. 1273). In the MS, it is labelled Platearius – Matthew, a member of this medical family, wrote *De simplici medicinae*, but, as this is *ibid.*, col. 211, it seems unlikely to be the correct attribution for our text.

⁶⁶ Identified by its explicit as *noua cyrurgia mag. Lamfranci mediolanensis* (of Milan). Followed by verses on medical matters.

copies of this work.⁶⁷ Interestingly, this volume was once bound with Richard of Wetheringsett's *Summa Qui bene praesunt*, making this priest's guide and these medical texts unlikely erstwhile companions.⁶⁸ Llanthony's fourteenth-century library catalogue records a good collection of medical texts at the priory, but this manuscript is not identifiable therein.

This survey of the content of the books of Llanthony provenance of c.1250-c.1350, fewer numerically than in the previous one-hundred-year bracket, reveals areas of continuity with what has gone before, but also indicates shifting priorities and interests on the part of those responsible for book acquisition at the priory. Many older books may have continued to suffice for the canons' needs. The single patristic work (a class of text with one of the higher survival rates) and the few representatives of older theology may suggest that, although Llanthony had by no means acquired a full complement of the Fathers, its holdings by c.1250 were judged sufficient for most needs. The collection of recent and contemporary theology continued in this period as in the twelfth century and Llanthony responded to new types of material, albeit sometimes belatedly and in a piecemeal fashion. Law enjoyed a significant upturn in popularity, although, on the evidence of the manuscripts marshalled here, it remained vastly subordinate to theology in the collection. Representatives of other disciplines continue to be found but are relatively few: some subjects present in the manuscripts of c.1150-c.1250 – such as classics and grammar – are absent here, although whole volumes of medicine and of historical writing, and the material relating to Llanthony, are notable members of this corpus. This group of manuscripts can be summarised as comprising a subsidiary stage in the formation of Llanthony's holdings. Following almost 150 years of amassing works whose composition ranged in date from the ancient world to the modern day, the volumes of c.1250-c.1350 serve to keep Llanthony's collection 'ticking

⁶⁷ Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 367, lists 15 copies, excluding this one. Most are of the fourteenth century; the only thirteenth-century copy is Cambridge, St. John's College, 99 (St. Augustine's, Canterbury).

⁶⁸ The Wetheringsett is now LP 392 (fos. 29^r-55^v) (s. xiii^m). The evidence for their former combination is the first item of Morgan of Carmarthen's content inscription in LP 409 (*primo quidam t\ra/ctatus moralis viz. de car[--] et de preceptis decalogi.*), which can be identified with the Wetheringsett, and the medieval markings shared by LP 392 (f. 29: *iii quaterni i^o*) and LP 409 (f. 1^r: *.vii. quat\er\ni. ii^o.*; f. 53: *.ii. quaterni .iii.*; f. 88: *.i. q\ua/termus .iiij\to/.*).

over' with some recent writing that often reflects wider currents in the intellectual life of the period. Whilst formerly there was a distinct bid to collect certain work, these books give an impression of haphazard augmentation. It is possible that acquisition was tailored towards the needs of certain individuals, perhaps university students.

We might ask the same questions of these manuscripts as of those considered in the preceding chapters. In general, though, fewer answers are forthcoming.

One legal volume in this group, LP 103 (s. xiii^{ex}), was probably written in southern France,⁶⁹ but the origin of the majority of these books and how Llanthony acquired them are opaque. Their palaeography and decoration is less distinctive than that of some twelfth-century Llanthony manuscripts and therefore it is hard to use these features as criteria by which to judge these books' source. The styles of script and decoration that are recognisable characteristics of Llanthony or west-country production in earlier books do not re-appear here; rather the books of c.1250-c.1350 contain features that are more generic and anonymous. It is, therefore, difficult to determine whether any were produced at Llanthony or elsewhere locally. These books contain some probable examples of Llanthony writing in the form of the material relating to priory affairs that was added to some; however, these contributions are only small amounts of writing and are by various hands, often cursive, that are not paralleled by the hands of the main texts.

These volumes are, on the whole, decorated by red and blue initials, with varying amounts of pen-flourishing in one or both of these colours.⁷⁰ In some books (e.g. LP 390), a plain initial suffices to begin the text. In others, pen-flourishing traverses the boundaries of the initial and becomes a feature of the page.⁷¹

McClean 145 is a well-organised volume over which care has been taken. The

⁶⁹ James, *Catalogue*.

⁷⁰ Cf. plates XXXIV and XXXV.

⁷¹ In LP 394, the prologue begins (f. 1^v) with a blue initial with red flourishing and red and blue patterning that extends down text block and into the upper margin, forming a border around two sides of the text.

content-list is articulated by red and blue capitals, bracketing and numbering.⁷² The text begins (f. 1^v) with no initial as such, but ‘bars’ of decoration (in blue and red ink, with a design based on intersecting segments and flourishing) which enclose the text along its inner and upper margins. Textual divisions are marked by red and blue initials elaborately flourished in the other colour, which are sometimes the platform for serrated decoration which fills the inter-columnar space.⁷³ The exuberant decoration renders the pages very ‘busy’ in appearance. Marginal grotesques include quadrupeds, birds, bipeds, human figures and fish. Interestingly, LP 409, despite containing niche texts (medicine) is quite elaborately decorated.⁷⁴ An exception to the dominance of red and blue is LP 80 (fos. 168-246), whose initials are red and green throughout and whose first words are in red and green 10-line capitals.⁷⁵ The large and imposing legal volume LP 30, although rubricated, has an unfilled 8-line space for an opening initial; spaces in the gloss for initials (for which the rubricator has left instructions) are likewise empty. This might suggest that the book’s decoration was supposed to be added at a later point, perhaps at Llanthony, the volume having been written elsewhere. The widespread use of this sort of decoration in manuscripts of this period means that it cannot be cited as evidence of a common origin for the books of Llanthony provenance in which it appears. The lack of distinctiveness in the palaeography and decoration of these manuscripts may favour diverse origins.

Militating against an in-house origin for a number of books of c.1250-c.1350 is that the exemplars for many of the texts therein are most likely to have been available for copying in a scholastic, university environment. This, therefore, is the most natural origin for the volumes in which they are found. On the other hand, Llanthony already owned some texts in these books in earlier manuscripts and these are potential exemplars for in-house copying.⁷⁶

⁷² Fos. ii^r–v^v.

⁷³ Plate XXXVI.

⁷⁴ For example, its third text begins (f. 29^v) with a blue initial flourished in red, and blue and red flourishing encloses the text on three sides. The lower border is formed by red ink patterns and fish. F. 53^r has an extremely good 8-line blue and red segmented initial flourished delicately and clearly, the bowl of which encloses a long-tailed quadruped.

⁷⁵ F. 170^r.

⁷⁶ E.g. Augustine, *De spiritu et anima* (OCCC 154); Richard of Wetheringsett, *Summa Qui bene praesunt* (LP 398); Hugh of S.-Victor, *De institutione nouiciorum* (LP 481).

Presuming, then, that many, if not most, of Llanthony's books of c.1250-c.1350 were manufactured outside the priory, is there any evidence to suggest how it acquired them? The content of several makes it likely that they were obtained in university circles, but only two contain internal evidence, in the form of *cautiones*, which supports this. The copy of Aristotle's *Metaphysica* in LP 55 (fos. i, ii, 1-156, 162) (c.1300) was at Llanthony in the late fourteenth century but holds traces of a *cautio* which indicate its erstwhile presence at university. The late-thirteenth-century southern French canon law volume LP 103 contains a note connecting it to Oxford in 1300 and *cautiones* which attest to its presence there in 1334-5.⁷⁷ It probably came to Llanthony after this point (it bears a late-fifteenth-century Llanthony *Secunda ex libris*).⁷⁸ Despite, therefore, the absence of evidence that any particular Llanthony canon attended Oxford in this period, the presence at Llanthony of books that had been in that environment suggests that some may have done. Through them, such academic-related texts may have entered Llanthony's communal collection (the priory having funded, presumably, the acquisition of any books obtained by its canon-scholars).

Inscriptions in two manuscripts show that Llanthony continued to receive books via donation during this period. One book was explicitly donated by a prior: Cotton Appendix xxiv (s. xiii²; Peraldus) is inscribed *Summa de Viciis capitalibus de dono Willi' p̄rioris* in a hand that seems broadly coeval with the book.⁷⁹ A second volume, LP 58 (s. xiii^{ex}; Aquinas) bears on its flyleaf the upside-down and reversed inscription *Liber Lanthon' iuxta Gloucestr' per Willm' p̄riorem*.⁸⁰ This inscription dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Its more ambiguous wording may not signify straightforward donation, rather 'acquired through' William. Whether William bought/commissioned the volume from a professional producer or obtained it second-hand, the distinction between him having 'acquired' it for Llanthony and having 'donated' it may be subtle and revolve around whether William owned the book personally before it became communal property, or around whether he

⁷⁷ A.B Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* [henceforth *BRUO*], 3 vols., (Oxford, 1957), p. 882. The identity of the person named is unknown.

⁷⁸ Plate XLIII.

⁷⁹ F. 1^v. Unplanned donation may explain why Llanthony had two thirteenth-century copies of this text.

⁸⁰ Plate XXXV.

bought it using his own (abbatial) funds (which would suggest donation) or with community funds (which would suggest acquisition on behalf of the community). Even with the 'straightforward' donation of a volume, uncertainties remain, such as whether the book was given in the donor's lifetime or received after his death.

Whether both of these inscriptions refer to the same William is uncertain.

Several thirteenth- and fourteenth-century priors of Llanthony Secunda were named William: of Ashwell (1260s-70s); de Pendebury (c.1322-1324, 1326-d.1362); of Chiriton (1377-1401). The fact that the *ex dono* in Cotton App. xxiv is of a similar date to the book itself suggests that it was donated by the prior of that time, William of Ashwell, and that the volume reached Llanthony at an early point in its life. As regards the Aquinas LP 58 (for which this inscription is the only provenance evidence), acquisition *per* any of these three Williams is feasible, although William of Ashwell would have been a very up-to-date scholar were he linked to it; this and the fact that Ashwell would have been beyond living memory by the time that the acquisition inscription was added to LP 58 make one of the later Williams more likely.⁸¹ One prior at least, therefore, supported the extension of Llanthony's library in this period.

Two books of this group apparently had individual owners at an early stage. LP 30 (s. xiii^{ex}; *Decretales nove*) contains the contemporary note *Liber Radulfi tuprest de West [---] precio duarum marc'*. Whether this man was a canon of Llanthony or an external donor to it, or whether the community simply acquired the book at a later point in its history, is unknown.⁸² The owner of the other may be identifiable: LP 55 (s. xiii/xiv) is inscribed *Lib' R de Glouc' canonici Lanth* (f.

⁸¹ It may be significant that donations of books by William de Pendebury are independently attested by H460, as are some by an unidentified prior 'W.' (*vide* chapter 8). That LP 58 is not listed in the library catalogue may be because, at the time of that document's compilation and revision (s. xiv²), it was still in the possession of an individual and therefore ineligible for cataloguing, or not at Llanthony – these points may favour William of Chiriton. Chiriton is the latest of Llanthony Secunda's priors named William.

⁸² The earliest evidence to certainly connect the volume to Llanthony is the fifteenth-century inscription of Morgan of Carmarthen.

i^v). A Robert of Gloucester was briefly prior of Llanthony Secunda in 1324 and, moreover, is a known owner of books.⁸³

The surviving volumes of c.1250-c.1350 suggest that there continued to be no convention at Llanthony by which *ex libris* inscriptions were inserted into its books. The wording of the handful that there is varies and does not always distinguish between the two Llanthonies.⁸⁴ One *ex libris*, in specifying Llanthony Prima, provides the only explicit evidence for books at the Welsh house during this period, by the end of which the priories had been officially separated for almost 150 years. The Biblical miscellany LP 200 (fos. 114-63) (s. xiii-xiv) may be of particular interest when considering the relationship of the book collections of Prima and Secunda after their separation c.1205 and the movement of books between them. It is inscribed *Iste liber est [erasure] p\ri/oris Lanth' p\ri/me*. (c.1300?).⁸⁵ However, the book is also linked to Llanthony Secunda, perhaps as little as half a century after the writing of its later sections, by its possible inclusion in the book-list of c.1350.⁸⁶ The annotations of Morgan of Carmarthen then place it at Secunda in the first half of the fifteenth century. Interestingly, Morgan's signature (*morganus*) is written directly underneath the erasure in the *ex libris*. The erased word was probably a personal name or location (e.g. *bibliothecalrefectorium*); it seems that Morgan erased it in favour of his own name.⁸⁷ These pieces of evidence show that this volume moved between the Llanthonies a significant time after their separation.

Included in these volumes are several items in French and English, unusual in the Llanthony corpus. Often these are only short pieces, such as the Middle English

⁸³ He was allowed to take his books with him on retiring to Dublin (chapter 1, n. 62). This one may have been overlooked. The designation 'canon' would accord with Robert's very truncated priorate.

⁸⁴ OCCC 42 (s. xiii/xiv): *Liber Lanthon* (f. 1^r; early fifteenth century?). Repeated 136^v, possibly by the same hand. OCCC 159 (s. xiv^m): *Lanthon'* (f. 211^v). LP 103 (s. xiii^{cx}): *Liber decretalium ecclesie beate marie Lanthonie iuxta / Gloucestriam* (f. i^v; s. xv² or later; plate XLIII) (this *ex libris* may well post-date the 1481 reunification of the Llanthonies; if so, that it specifies Llanthony Secunda suggests that a distinction nonetheless was made between the two priories in the matter of book ownership).

⁸⁵ F. 114^v.

⁸⁶ Webber and Watson, *Augustinian Canons*, identify it as A16.66, *Glose super Psalterium in vno quaterno simplici modici valoris* (the match is not certain, as the volume contains *distinctiones* rather than a gloss).

⁸⁷ Although it was not necessarily his policy to do this: cf. LP 30, which contains both an ownership inscription and his annotation.

note in LP 390 or the French *carmen de amicitia* in OCCC 154, but the vernacular content in some manuscripts is more substantial and suggests the deployment of these languages in different contexts.⁸⁸ This may reflect, in some small way, the growth of vernacular writing in French and English after 1200, in which houses of Augustinian canons played an important role until the end of the medieval period.⁸⁹

In sum, the rate of acquisition of books by Llanthony over the period c.1250-c.1350 was much lower than for the preceding hundred-year bracket. There is a particular dearth of books of the first half of the fourteenth century, perhaps reflecting the unsettled circumstances and impoverishment of Llanthony Secunda at that time. Llanthony's efforts had, by c.1250, resulted in a book collection that was reasonably strong in basic areas. The books discussed above seem to result from less focused acquisition than those obtained in the 1100s and may have been obtained to satisfy particular needs as they arose. The influence of law and of the Friars is apparent in the collection, showing that Llanthony continued to respond to contemporary trends. The enlargement of Llanthony's legal holdings in this period does not alter the collection's strong bias towards theology. Some theological material in this corpus (sermons, concordances, miracles) could have fulfilled a devotional role, either private or public (e.g. through preaching). The books here considered contain universal nondescript features and their origins are obscure. The implication is that Llanthony was acquiring books from different sources and this, too, may reflect the less methodical collecting of this period. Donation continues to be a factor in acquisition, whilst the evidence for books at Llanthony Prima continues to decrease.

⁸⁸ E.g. legal in Rawl. C.331 (s. xiii^{ex}) (*summa*) and theological/devotional in OCCC 36 (sermons and Anglo-Norman Bible translation).

⁸⁹ J. Frankis, 'The Social Context of Vernacular Writing in Thirteenth-Century England: the Evidence of the Manuscripts', *Thirteenth-Century England 1: Proceedings of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Conference 1985*, ed. P.R. Cross and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 175-184, especially pp. 176, 178.

Chapter 8

1350-1400

I: Llanthony Secunda's Fourteenth-Century Library Catalogue (BL, Harley 460)

Thus far, our exploration of Llanthony's library has been guided by the extant manuscripts. We now encounter the major piece of documentary evidence for its history. A mid-fourteenth-century list of Llanthony Secunda's books, BL, Harley 460 (H460), invaluable illuminates Secunda's collection as it was by c.1350 and then documents activity until c.1400, counterbalancing the evidence of the extant manuscripts. It tells us, within reason, which texts the community had and how they were arranged and stored; additionally it indicates how some books were gained and used. H460 is all the more significant because there are few Augustinian catalogues and book-lists, and none from Wales,¹ and the poor survival of such documentary records is paralleled by that of the books of the order as a whole: excepting Llanthony Secunda, to only ten Augustinian houses have more than ten extant volumes been assigned, and from none of these does the number of survivors exceed forty.² Belonging to the same phase of activity as Llanthony's library list (c.1350-c.1400) are archival documents, library books and a significant donation of books. In combination, these pieces of evidence suggest that this period was one of some vigour at Llanthony Secunda.³

H460 is a quire of eleven leaves. Now a single item in a modern binding, there is little indication of its original state: whether it was once accompanied by other material, and whether it was originally in a formal or limp binding, or un-bound. Changes to the collection were recorded in it and such emendments would have been

¹ Excluding the information in the *Registrum Anglie*, 41 records of the books of 34 Augustinian houses are known. Thirty-one of these were not produced by members of the houses concerned (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, p. xxii). The editors comment on the difficulties inherent in interpreting these documents (*ibid.*, pp. xxiii-xxiv). English Cistercian, Premonstratensian and Gilbertine book-lists are also rare: *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, ed. D.N. Bell, CBMLC 3 (London, 1992), p. xxiii.

² *Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, pp. xxii-xxiii.

³ There is no evidence concerning Llanthony Prima's books during this period.

easier to enter in an informally- or un-bound gathering. However, catalogues of other book collections are often found in registers or cartularies, thick volumes containing other documents.⁴ Although less practical for everyday use in a book-room, this arrangement was more secure and highlighted the status of the books as an integral part of the community's property. In or by the sixteenth century, H460 was bound with other Llanthony manuscripts of disparate natures.⁵ By the time that this was done, the catalogue would seem to have passed from active service.⁶

The catalogue is written on modest parchment. The page is neatly laid out (albeit untidily ruled) with clear margins. The original entries are the work of a single scribe employing a clear, middle-grade, formal Gothic book-hand, an indication that some importance was attached to the document.⁷ The entries are confined between the vertical bounding lines.⁸ The writing and the use of abbreviation seem to be carefully judged so that each entry fits on one line.⁹

The text of H460 is clearly sub-divided by rubrics that state the *armarium* and *gradus* whose contents are then listed.¹⁰ A space of three lines was left between the end of each shelf and the rubric for the subsequent one, facilitating the addition of new material and providing a visual distinction between the lists for each shelf. The books on each shelf are usually listed by a combination of title and author, but sometimes by a description of the text or by incipit. The first letter of each line (i.e.

⁴ E.g. the 1123 Rochester catalogue is part of the *Textus Roffensis*, which also contains a list of other property, laws, rents etc. (Rochester, Cathedral Library, MS A.3.5). Reading's catalogue is bound with charters, lists of vestments, liturgical objects and relics. The books are listed prominently (Coates, *Reading*, pp. 19, 21).

⁵ BL, Harley MSS 459-63 (ss. xii-xiv). C.E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani* (London, 1972), pp. 215-6, 219-20, does not comment on the evidence for the date of their combination. They are the only Llanthony MSS in the Harleian collection.

⁶ The catalogue now begins abruptly, without identification of the house to which it belongs. Such preliminary material might have been lost during the combination of H460 with other volumes, or may never have existed. H460 was a working document (there is no known 'fair' copy) and the texts in Harley 459 and Harley 461-3 would have been required in various, and different, places to a catalogue, which would have been most naturally kept by the precentor or close to the books. The combination of Harley 459-463 would have been impractical during H460's 'working' lifetime and probably post-dates the Dissolution.

⁷ Plates XXXVII and XXXVIII. H460's main hand may best accord with Michelle Brown's *textualis semi-quadrata*, the second-lowest grade of Gothic bookhand (*A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* [London, 1990, 1993], pp. 86-7).

⁸ The first word of most entries is aligned precisely to the left vertical bounding line, further giving the impression of an ordered page.

⁹ *Vide* A16.53.

¹⁰ The rubrication was carefully executed or closely examined after execution (cf. the rubric for the third shelf of the first *armarium*).

the first letter of each entry) is rubricated and enlarged (a practice not followed in the later additions¹¹), as are the initials of other significant words.¹² Additions made in various *anglicana* and book- hands of differing degrees of care and accomplishment span perhaps fifty years from the date of the original compilation.¹³ These impede the clarity of some pages and can be quite intrusive in the latter half of the document.¹⁴

Although the original compilation of H460 is undated, an ascription to the 1350s accords with internal and palaeographical evidence and suits the known circumstances at Llanthony Secunda then.¹⁵ The years following the Black Death, which devastated Secunda in 1348-9, were an appropriate time for it to re-assess and record its possessions. Prior William de Pendebury (c.1322-24; 1326-1362) was seemingly the kind of leader to have provided the impetus for such activity. A slip appended to f. 2^r of the catalogue notes that the document was checked in 1380, suggesting that sufficient time had elapsed since the original compilation for an audit to be necessary.

H460 contains 508 entries. This total is not synonymous with the number of books in the collection.¹⁶ However, it shows that by c.1400 Llanthony owned approximately three times the number of books that now survive from its entire 400-year history.¹⁷ Llanthony's pre-1350 acquisitions were thus far more extensive than

¹¹ The exception is A16.101.

¹² E.g. f. 3^r, line 15: *Quatuor Ev'ngelia Glosata i' vno volumine magno*.

¹³ Webber and Watson note at least five additional book-hands (*Augustinian Canons*, p. 36).

¹⁴ Folio 3^v lacks additions or marginalia and indicates how the catalogue would have initially appeared. As well as its practical use, a book-list might have had an abstract, spiritual role as a record of a community's repository of knowledge and sacred words. There seems to be nothing, however, at least in the form in which H460 survives today, to indicate that Llanthony's catalogue was perceived in this way.

¹⁵ Webber and Watson date the document c.1355-60 (*Augustinian Canons*, p. 36).

¹⁶ It includes (twice) some books that have been erased from their original position and re-entered elsewhere, plus additions and deletions of various dates and books listed as missing or on loan. Whether some such books were ever returned is unknown. Some entries record more than one volume (e.g. A16.232). It is not always clear whether these signify one copy of a text in two volumes or two separate copies. Nor does H460 record all of the books that were at Llanthony Secunda when it was compiled.

¹⁷ By comparison, 450 volumes are listed in the 1389 catalogue of Dover Priory (C. de Hamel, 'Medieval Library Catalogues', *Pioneers in Bibliography*, ed. R. Myers and M. Harris [Winchester, 1988, repr. 1996], pp. 11-23, p. 20; *Dover Priory*, ed. W.P. Stoneman, CMBLC 5 [London, 1999]). Llanthony Secunda's collection is, though, dwarfed by those of the Sorbonne (1722 books by 1338) (De Hamel, 'Medieval Library Catalogues', p. 19) and of Christ Church, Canterbury (nearly 2000 volumes in 1326) (R.G. Gameson, 'The Physical Setting of the English Medieval Library to c.1450',

its extant manuscripts reveal. 130 of the 508 entries (just under 26%) can be associated with an extant manuscript.¹⁸ Some Llanthony manuscripts of the appropriate age are not apparent in H460. These may not have been owned by Llanthony until after the catalogue's production, or belonged to individual canons and so were not counted amongst communal property, or were temporarily absent when the catalogue was compiled (as were some volumes when it was later checked), or were located somewhere that was not under the catalogue's aegis. It is not impossible that they were at Llanthony Prima. John Lecche's significant donation of books, which occurred within H460's working lifetime, is largely unrecorded therein.

Bibles occupy most of the first shelf of the first *armarium*. Personal names are recorded with some, which may therefore have belonged to individual canons or other donors and entered the collection, if not by active donation, then by 'inheritance' - as basic texts, they might have been possessed by many canons. Some scattered individual Biblical books (perhaps suited to personal use) are not specified as glossed, as are those on the second and third shelves of the first *armarium*.¹⁹ Occasional liturgical items are recorded, for example on the only shelf of the fifth *armarium*.²⁰ That there is no mention of the manifold breviaries, graduals, tropers etc. which were the *sine qua non* of any monastic book collection strongly suggests that books needed for daily liturgical life were, unsurprisingly, stored elsewhere.

The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain I, ed. T. Webber and E. Leedham-Green [forthcoming]). Although in 1480 Magdalen College, Oxford, had 800-plus books and Merton College, Oxford, had c.500 books in 1372, the collections of other Oxbridge colleges were smaller than Llanthony's: E. Leedham-Green, 'University Libraries and Book-Sellers', *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain III: 1400-1557*, ed. L. Hellenga and J.B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 316-353, p. 323.

¹⁸ The degree of certainty with which catalogue entries and manuscripts are linked varies considerably. Of the 130 entries which can be matched with a MS, the identification of 73 (56%) with a MS is certain. Overall, 14.4% of the total entries in H460 may be 'certainly' identified with a MS. The MSS with which these 73 entries are identified date from s. xii^m-s. xiv¹ (with 46.66% of twelfth-century date). A smaller number of entries can be 'probably' identified with a MS (25 of the 130, e.g. slightly over 19% of the total number of entries that can be associated with a MS and just under 5% of the total number of entries in H460). Thirty-five (27%) of these 130 entries may be 'possibly'/'perhaps' associated with a MS.

¹⁹ A16.78, A16.165, A16.206, A16.212, A16.330, A16.347, A16.354-5, A16.358, A16.360, A16.388.

²⁰ A16.501; A16.505; A16.500.

H460 does list *legenda sanctorum*, passionals and *miracula*,²¹ plus homilies and sermons that could be employed in services or for personal devotion. There are anonymous homilies²² and those by well-known authors such as Hugh of S.-Victor and Gregory the Great.²³ At least twenty-six entries feature sermons; many are (now) anonymous,²⁴ whilst others are by Maurice of Sully, Bernard of Clairvaux, Petrus Chrysologus, Geoffrey Babio, Ivo of Chartres, Achard of S.-Victor and Peter Comestor.²⁵ Notably absent from H460 is Prior William of Wycombe's *vita* of Robert of Béthune, any Llanthony copy of which might well have been kept in its church.

Biblical scholarship was a strength of the recorded collection. Two shelves of the first *armarium* are devoted to glossed Biblical books and another to glossed Psalters.²⁶ The number of glossed Biblical books listed and their prominent position reflects the fact that Llanthony's formative years (and most vigorous period of collecting) coincided with this type of text's greatest popularity. In terms of the number of works represented and the way that they are grouped, Augustine and Jerome formed the core of Llanthony's theological material.²⁷ Gregory the Great, Ambrose and the Eastern Fathers are rather less well represented.²⁸ These patristic listings reflect the manuscript evidence and the likely priorities of the early Llanthony canons. Scattered throughout H460 is a range of scholarly commentaries on particular Biblical books. Authors represented include Ralph of Flaix, Smaragdus, Haimo of Auxerre, Origen, Cassiodorus, Ralph of Laon(?), Geoffrey Babio, Pseudo-Isidore of Seville, Bede and the house-author Clement of Llanthony.²⁹ Indeed, particular prominence is given to Clement: he is the only house-author whose

²¹ A16.489, A16.390, A16.288, A16.304, A16.55, A16.192, A16.204, A16.222, A16.282-4.

²² A16.84, A16.488.

²³ A16.227; A16.121, A16.123.

²⁴ E.g. A16.270, A16.321.

²⁵ A16.12; A16.101, A16.142; A16.134; A16.224; A16.306, A16.345; A16.335; A16.491.

²⁶ The second, third and fourth shelves. A couple of glossed Psalters have personal names appended.

²⁷ Augustine: A16.169-180, A16.182, A16.184-194, A16.196. Jerome: A16.53, A16.88-9, A16.115-20, A16.167, A16.214, A16.331-2.

²⁸ Gregory: A16.44, A16.121-3, A16.127. Ambrose: A16.125, A16.307. John Chrysostom: A16.137. Cyprian: A16.205. John Cassian: A16.217.

²⁹ A16.9, A16.62; A16.322; A16.10, A16.41; A16.16; A16.54; or of Flaix, A16.64; A16.65; A16.71, A16.369; A16.138, A16.140, A16.347, A16.360, A16.463; A16.110-112. Perhaps also Alcuin (A16.202-3).

works were grouped together on the shelf.³⁰ Also recorded are work by the 'local' scholars Peter of Blois, Gerald of Wales, William de Vere, Alexander Nequam and Osbern Pinnock of Gloucester,³¹ and texts pertaining to university study. The last reflect a subsequent stage in Llanthony's history.³²

So far, this is the kind of material that is represented, in however fragmented a state, in Llanthony's extant manuscripts. Yet H460 also records many texts that are not found in the surviving books. It shows that many of Llanthony's legal texts are lost,³³ and that Llanthony Secunda had, by c.1400, a stock of liberal arts and medicinal texts,³⁴ plus history,³⁵ astrology/astronomy,³⁶ grammar,³⁷ music³⁸ and *computistica*.³⁹ Two copies of the Rule of St. Augustine also appear.⁴⁰ Among the custumals recorded is that of Merton (significant because of that house's suggested role in Llanthony's foundation), plus *Consuetudinarius Antiquus Lanthonie* and *Consuetudinarius ordinis nostri*.⁴¹ Furthermore, as these lists show, H460 records

³⁰ Perhaps because they outnumber those of other Llanthony canons. Some of the books at A16.103-12 are described as *libellus*, *paruus* and *mediocris* - Clement's working or autograph copies? - and contain work by him that is no longer extant in manuscript form. John of Llanthony: A16.132; Robert de Braci: A16.160, A16.233; Robert de Béthune: A16.356 (no MS of the last survives). See n. 94 below for the possible work of two more Llanthony priors.

³¹ A16.209; A16.157; A16.86; A16.264, A16.493, A16.51; A16.498.

³² Robert Grosseteste (A16.27, A16.85, A16.168, A16.292); Aristotle (A15.199, A16.325, A16.353, A16.413); Thomas Aquinas (A16.114, A16.383).

³³ Civil law: A16.244-7, A16.275, A16.418. Canon: A16.57, A16.74-5, A16.237-43, A16.249, A16.251-3, A16.260, A16.262, A16.264-5, A16.268-271, A16.273-4, A16.277, A16.279-81, A16.300-1, A16.427, A16.492.

³⁴ Constantinus Africanus's *Viatricum* (A16.466, A16.469) (and A16.464, A16.480, A16.485); Bartholomew of Salerno (A16.465); John of St.-Paul's *Breuiarium de signis morborum* (A16.465, A16.483); Platearius (A16.467); Odo of Meung (A16.467); Roger of Salerno (A16.470); Isaac Iudaeus (A16.473-4, A16.479, A16.481).

³⁵ Geoffrey of Monmouth (A16.379); Brut (A16.381); Pseudo-Turpinus (A16.391); Dares Phrygius's *De excidio Troiae historia* (A16.342, A16.391, A16.426); Lucan's *De bello civili* (A16.414); Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* (A16.421); *Liber Cruniculorum* (A16.504); Josephus (A16.128-9); Eusebius of Caesarea (A16.130).

³⁶ Hermannus Contractus(?), *Compositio Astrolabi* (A16.382, A16.423, A16.439); *Liber Astronomie...* (A16.419); *Astronomie...* (A16.431); Bernardus Silvestris, *Cosmographia* (A16.350, A16.451).

³⁷ Priscian (A16.408; A16.392-4, A16.398-400, A16.416); Petrus Elias (A16.401); rhetoric (A16.422, A16.434); John of Garland's *Dictionarius* (A16.405).

³⁸ Boethius's *De institutione musica* (A16.352, A16.357, A16.363).

³⁹ Including *Glose magistri Johannis Ocreati de Geometria...* (A16.459), which may record a copy of the *Helcep sarracenicum* of Iohannes Ocreatus. See C. Burnett, 'Algorismi vel helcep decentior est diligentia: the arithmetic of Adelard of Bath and his circle', *Sonderdruck aus Mathematische Probleme im Mittelalter*, ed. M. Folkerts, (Wiesbaden, 1996), pp. 221-331, pp. 233-4.

⁴⁰ A16.219, A16.412.

⁴¹ A16.445-9, A16.502, A16.220. The chapter of the Augustinian Rule regarding the reading and borrowing of books was, according to the twelfth-century *Bridlington Dialogue*, susceptible to differing interpretations (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, p. xxiv). The 1234 General Chapter specified that each house should commit its own observances to writing (*Chapters of the*

duplicate copies of some of this material. Also noteworthy are four copies of each of Plato's *Timaeus*⁴² and Macrobius on Cicero's *De somno Scipionis*.⁴³ John Lecche's bequest demonstrates that law might be duplicated by donations or bequests; duplicates might also reflect study at university or the particular interests of individual canons.⁴⁴

H460 records work by at least 167 authors. Twelfth-century authors are particularly well represented – unsurprisingly, as the basis of Llanthony's book collection was established at that time. Carolingian authors also make a strong showing. A significant number of pre-Christian authors is represented, although often by only a single work.

How does the content of Llanthony's collection compare to that of other houses? David Bell's computation of the relative proportions of different types of texts listed in the catalogues of houses of different orders reveals that 61% of Llanthony's collection as recorded in H460 comprises theology, with 7.3% grammar and logic, 4.1% philosophy, 9.5% law, 5.8% classics, 9% science and medicine and 3.3% history. In comparison with the other catalogues that he studied, H460 contains a relatively lower proportion of theology and relatively high proportions of grammar and logic, philosophy, law and classics.⁴⁵

H460 also illuminates the organisation and storage of Llanthony Secunda's books in the mid-to-late fourteenth century. The part of the collection here recorded is organised in five *armaria* - some sort of cupboards containing varying numbers of shelves: five, four, four/five, six and one.⁴⁶ Perhaps, following a basic initial 'build',

Augustinian Canons, ed. H.E. Salter [Oxford, 1922], p. 5) and doubtless Llanthony Secunda's own customs, documented here, contained its particular regulations.

⁴² In the translation of Chalcidius: A16.183, A16.323, A16.430, A16.437.

⁴³ A16.183, A16.303, A16.323, A16.333.

⁴⁴ The organisation of Ramsey's catalogue by donor for the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries shows the unplanned accrual of duplicates (*English Benedictine Libraries*, ed. Sharpe *et al*, p. xxv). Part of Christ Church, Canterbury's collection was ordered by donor in the 1300s (Gameson, 'Physical Setting').

⁴⁵ It should be borne in mind that the documents that Bell compares differ in date and nature and record collections that had had varying amounts of time to develop when the catalogue/inventory was made. *Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, p. xxv.

⁴⁶ *Armarium* might indicate cupboard, case or chest, but the fact that they have multiple shelves indicates cupboards rather than chests of the sort in which books were stored fore-edge down.

they were adapted and enlarged over time to accommodate the growing collection.⁴⁷ The books were, on the whole, arranged on the shelves by subject, although this was not always strictly adhered to and later additions were sometimes placed – understandably – according to the strictures of space rather than with similar material. The organisation may be summarised as follows:

FIRST ARMARIUM		
5 th shelf (top)	Mostly theological: Psalters & commentaries thereon; a few glossed books; sermons; Isidore; Jerome; Grosseteste. Oddities: <i>De re Militari</i> ; <i>Distinctiones super Decreta</i> .	45 entries; 45 declared vols. (including 2 additions at end of shelf). ⁴⁸
4 th shelf	All Psalters/concerning Psalters except for final three additional entries.	13 entries including 3 additions at end of shelf; 16 declared vols.
3 rd shelf	Glossed biblical books.	17 entries, 24 declared vols. (no additions).
2 nd shelf	Overwhelmingly glossed biblical books; one Grosseteste at end.	14 entries, 14 declared vols. incl. one added at end of shelf.
1 st shelf (bottom)	Chiefly Bibles (no other liturgical texts), sermons, concordance, biblical commentaries.	13 entries, 16 declared vols. including 3 additions at end of shelf.

⁴⁷ E.g. by building another shelf on top of a cupboard or re-positioning the existing shelves closer together in order to increase the total number of shelves within the original structure.

⁴⁸ Declared volumes: each entry is assumed to comprise one volume unless otherwise stated. The number of additions at the end of each shelf is mentioned in order to illuminate how later books were accommodated. The number given refers to entries rather than volumes. This does not mean that there are no additions elsewhere on the shelf.

SECOND ARMARIUM		
4 th shelf	Chiefly theological with authors of varied dates: Jerome, Paschasius, Isidore, Anselms, Gerald of Wales, Grosseteste.	24 entries; 23 declared vols. plus A16.159 (now erased). Includes 1 addition at end of shelf.
3 rd shelf	Mainly theological: commentaries, sermons, Chrysostom and ps-Chrysostom (mostly in single MS), Bede. Slight variations: <i>glosarium</i> and early history (Josephus, Eusebius ⁴⁹).	17 entries; 17 declared vols. (including one addition at end of shelf).
2 nd shelf	Church Fathers, chiefly Jerome and Gregory; also Ambrose and Adalbert.	13 entries; 14 declared vols. (no additions).
1 st shelf	All Clement of Llanthony, except for Hilary of Poitiers who would have been only other author until addition of Aquinas.	12 entries; 24 vols. (incl. 1 addition at end of shelf). Small number of entries probably because these are hefty, multi-volume works

THIRD ARMARIUM		
4 th shelf	Theological: several Hugh of S.-Victor and a couple of other s. xii authors, plus some from the early church.	16 entries; 17 declared vols. and A16.230 (erased); no additions.
3 rd shelf	Theological: letters of several theologians and Seneca; plus a few glossed books and texts relating to the Augustinians.	19 entries; 19 declared vols. including 2 additions at end of shelf.
2 nd shelf	Overwhelmingly Augustine; otherwise theological with early and s. xii authors. Also Plato, Macrobius, Aristotle.	23 entries, 3 [probably 4] of which are additions; 23 declared MSS & A16.201 (now erased); includes 2/3 additions at end of shelf.
1 st shelf	All Augustine with the odd pseudonymous text and one ps-Bernard.	10 entries; 12 declared vols., no additions.

⁴⁹ These histories relate specifically to Biblical times, hence their placing here with the Fathers rather than later with other historical writing.

FOURTH ARMARIUM		
<i>Libri de phisica continent\ur/ in q\ui/nto G\raldu .iij. Armarij.</i>	Medicine; good collection of Constantinus Africanus and Isaac Iudaeus. Sermons an oddity.	23 entries; 25 declared vols.; incl. 5 entries added at end of shelf.
6 th shelf	Grammar, astronomy, music, classics, custumals.	45 entries (incl. 5 additions at end of shelf); 46 declared MSS (will vary depending on interpretation of various <i>quaterni</i>); only 2 entries might be associated with surviving MSS.
5 th shelf	Priscian and glosses thereon; grammar; early Christian and classical authors. Bracton added incongruously.	27 entries; 30 vols. (?); incl. 5 additions at end of shelf; only three MSS survive.
4 th shelf	Wide-ranging: Church Fathers, Biblical books, prophecy, history, music, logic, de Montibus, Aquinas, Robert de Béthune.	72 entries. Over 40 named authors; 3 additions at end of shelf.
3 rd shelf	Theological, all sorts of authors: Church Fathers, s. xii. s. xiii, <i>vitae</i> , miracles, a couple of unidentified books that may have belonged to Llanthony canons.	38 entries (incl. 7 additions at end); 38 declared vols.
2 nd shelf	Law, although not so exclusively as the shelf below: commentaries on legal texts as well as texts themselves. Also Lombard, Ivo of Chartres, Comestor.	26 entries (incl. 7 additions at end); 29 declared vols.
1 st shelf	Law: mostly canon but several copies of Justinian; two theological texts added at end.	19 entries; 23 plus 1 or 3 vols. depending on whether wording implies A16.254 in 1/3 parts, plus erased entry. Includes 2/3 additions at end.

FIFTH ARMARIUM		
1 st shelf	Proposed reference shelf: a little of everything.	22 entries (incl. final 3 which could be additions); 25 declared vols. without final 3, 28 with.

The arrangement of the books was logical. Each of the five *armaria* contained a particular type of text. The first was largely devoted to the Bible and its parts, with some theology on its last shelf.⁵⁰ The second and third *armaria* are dedicated to theology, prioritising the house author Clement of Llanthony and Augustine of Hippo (the best-represented single author) respectively. The fourth *armarium* had wide-ranging contents: law, theology, history, prophecy, logic, grammar, music, classics, astronomy and customs.

H460 next lists a group of medical texts (possibly written slightly later than the preceding pages) which, it states, are to be found ... *in q\uilnto G\ualdu .iiij. Armarij.*⁵¹ They are, therefore, listed out of sequence: their rubric suggests that they ought rightly to be recorded at the end of the list for the previous *armarium*. No (other) fifth shelf is listed for the third *armarium* and so the *medica* would there have occupied its own shelf. These medical books were, therefore, kept in an otherwise almost exclusively theological *armarium*. However, as it appears that they were added to H460 a little after its compilation, these volumes may have been latecomers to the shelving system. Strictures of space may therefore have dictated their location, despite the resulting anomaly in content.⁵²

A single shelf is recorded for the fifth *armarium* and held a selection of work reflecting the remainder of the collection in microcosm.⁵³ This mixed content, and the fact that this was apparently a single shelf, suggest that this *armarium* was of a different nature and/or purpose from the others. It may have been a reference section. Perhaps its books were unavailable for borrowing, as notes in H460 suggest that others were, and would therefore always be accessible.⁵⁴ This *armarium* could have had empty shelves but if it did, the *Libri de phisica* which immediately precede

⁵⁰ *De re Militari* (A16.93) and *Distinctiones super Decreta* (A16.74), both original entries, seem out of place here.

⁵¹ Webber and Watson wrongly transcribe this rubric as ... *iiij. Armarij.* (*Augustinian Canons*, p. 90). Cf. Gameson, 'Physical Setting'. That the *Libri de phisica* rubric employs Roman numerals is unique amongst H460's rubrics, as numbers are otherwise written out in full.

⁵² These MSS may have formerly been stored elsewhere (e.g. in the infirmary), their slightly belated addition reflecting their move to join the library books. Or, these specialised books may have been a donation. Two of them are linked to individuals (A16.470; A16.474). That their content is, uniquely, identified by the rubricator suggests that they were a group before their addition to the catalogue.

⁵³ E.g. a grand Bible, a Passional, key theological texts, an exposition of the Rule of St. Augustine, a hymnal and chronicles.

⁵⁴ Gameson, 'Physical Setting'. There was, by the time of H460's compilation, a concept of a fixed collection of essential texts for reference.

it in H460 could have been placed on one of these, thereby avoiding entering them out of sequence in H460, locating them amongst theological material in the third *armarium* and the amendment to the form of the third *armarium* which was perhaps necessary to accommodate them there.⁵⁵ If this was a reference collection, it seems sensible for these books to have been kept apart from the rest of the collection. Placing them alone in a different sort of cupboard would achieve this.

As the table shows, the shelves of the *armaria* contained varying numbers of books, doubtless because the volumes were different thicknesses. Most striking is the fourth *armarium*: its first two shelves contain 19 and 26 entries and 24/26 and 29 declared volumes respectively, yet the third shelf has 38 entries and volumes and the fourth 72 entries and 73/6 volumes. Over forty named authors are represented on this shelf, which holds the largest number of volumes in the catalogue. The sixth shelf has 45 entries and 46 declared manuscripts. The two shelves with significantly more volumes contain works that were presumably shorter (*viz.* prophecy, history, music, astronomy).⁵⁶

Volumes of different dimensions were intermixed on the same shelf, united by their content. Entries frequently note a volume's size: small, medium ('average') or large, *in quaterno, libello* or *quaternus*.⁵⁷ The first shelf of the third *armarium* holds volumes both *magnum* and *mediocre*, but all contain Augustine. Similarly, the legal texts on the first shelf of the fourth *armarium* are *magna, paruo, mediocri, quaternus, libelli* and *quaternus non ligatus*. The *armaria* with the most shelves (the first, fourth) have only smaller books on their highest shelves.

Regrettably, H460 does not record where in the priory complex the *armaria* were located. Catalogues and lists reveal that books were frequently kept in several locations within religious houses, often close to where they would be used. Thus service and liturgical volumes might be found in the church, chapel, treasury or sacristy; a large Bible or sermons in the refectory; the library collection elsewhere,

⁵⁵ Similarly, that other subsequent acquisitions were not added to the fifth *armarium*, but elsewhere, suggests that it had no other shelves.

⁵⁶ Gameson, 'Physical Setting' notes that lower shelves generally held fewer volumes.

⁵⁷ The probable entry for LP 200 (114-63) (A16.66) records it as *vno quaterno simplici modici valoris*: small volumes were not necessarily combined into a larger whole. *In quaternis* may signify tacketed MSS not in a binding (M. Gullick, 'Bindings', in Thomson, *Hereford*, pp. xxvi-xxxii, p. xxix).

and various volumes temporarily or permanently in the possession of individuals.⁵⁸ The cloister was the usual location of a community's main book collection; it is reasonable that this was also so at Llanthony Secunda.⁵⁹

Most entries in H460 describe the volumes that they record. Especially interesting are descriptions of bindings, as most surviving Llanthony books are in post-medieval bindings.⁶⁰ Some entries record a volume's worth⁶¹ or perceived usefulness.⁶² That non-Latin texts are noted suggests they were unusual.⁶³

Very few of Llanthony's surviving manuscripts contain shelfmarks; all that do were of the first *armarium*.⁶⁴ The organisation of Llanthony's collection by content and the fairly modest number of books recorded would have rendered it relatively simple for the person in charge of the library (most naturally the precentor) to locate particular volumes.

⁵⁸ Books allocated to a canon for personal reading were presumably kept in his dormitory or cell (cf. Gameson, 'Physical Setting').

⁵⁹ Llanthony Prima's east range has a vaulted chamber, the western part of which may have been a book-room (James, *Abbeys*, p.134). The only surviving English Augustinian customal - that of Barnwell (ed. J.W. Clark, *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of St. Giles and St. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire* [Cambridge, 1897]) - recommends that books for canons' daily use should not be removed from the cloister/church (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, pp. 5-6).

⁶⁰ E.g. A16.252 (...*duo libelli quorum vnus ligatus et alius non ligatus*); A16.271 (*niger quatermus*); A16.272 (*libellus ligatus*); A16.273 (*libellus niger*); A16.277 (*magnum volumen cum albo coreo*); A16.337 (*Liber de sermone. niger quatermus*; the description clarifying the vague title).

⁶¹ E.g. A16.53: ...*vno libello modici precij*.

⁶² E.g. A16.229 (*vtilis quatermus*).

⁶³ E.g. two books in French are highlighted (A16.12; A16.304).

⁶⁴ LP 71 (fos. 1-118): *de i armario primi gradus*, which does not accord with the identification of this MS with A16.49, which is located on the fourth shelf of the first *armarium*. It seems unlikely that this text (Peter Cantor in *Psalmos*) would have been placed on the Bible-dominated first shelf of the first *armarium* under the content arrangement represented by H460. LP 217 (fos. 86-126) is shelfmarked *DE Vto/ g\ra/du p\ri/mj armari* and is A16.63, which was indeed on the fifth shelf of the first *armarium* (plate XL). LP 335 (fos. 1-228) is inscribed *de primo armari' 4 g\ra/d'* in a fifteenth-century hand (James, *Catalogue*) but the part of the MS which bears the inscription is A16.82, which H460 records on the fifth shelf of the first *armarium*: only Psalter glosses were found on the fourth shelf of the first *armarium* when H460 was compiled. LP 349 bears the shelfmark *de tercio gradu primi armarii* and is A16.32, which is on the third shelf of the first *armarium*. LP 540 is inscribed *de v^o gradu primi armarii* and is A16.58, the first book on the fifth shelf of the first *armarium*. This shelfmark is in a fifteenth-century hand, suggesting that the arrangement of the books documented by H460 remained current then. These books' subject matter (Psalter commentary, glossed biblical books, glossed Psalter) is similar.

Comparison of surviving volumes with their entries in H460 indicates that the latter were not necessarily comprehensive listings of content.⁶⁵ As in other catalogues, constraints of style and space precluded the enumeration of every text in some multi-work manuscripts and it is therefore highly probable that H460 does not record many shorter or lesser texts that formed secondary or subsidiary items in Llanthony's books.⁶⁶ It must therefore be assumed that one member of the community (logically the catalogue's compiler and his successors) had sufficiently comprehensive knowledge of these volumes to be familiar with the full contents of each. The catalogue is an *aide-memoire* to that person and designed to be used in consultation with him, rather than a comprehensive or complete guide to the contents of the collection for use by the uninitiated.⁶⁷ Librarians were mortal, especially in the circumstances of the fourteenth century, thus it was sensible to have a written record and not rely solely on memory. H460 is therefore a guide to Llanthony's volumes rather than to its texts.

Written originally by a single hand, H460 was subsequently emended by several hands of varying formality and aspect of c.1350-c.1400. These emendations show that the catalogue continued in service until the early fifteenth century and provide insights into how the collection developed and was used until then. The spaces left by the original scribe at the end of each shelf suggest that the document was designed to receive additions. The annotations provide a range of information: an obvious function was to record extra titles, but there are also comments regarding the whereabouts, ownership, loan and loss of particular volumes. Especially significant are notes recording that the collection was checked against the catalogue in 1380.

Additions show that the collection recorded in H460 continued to expand: books were added to most shelves. One should not, however, infer from this that every

⁶⁵ E.g. A16.12 records only two of the five texts in OCCC 36. Such 'incomplete' entries cause uncertainty: A16.225 is LP 394 (fos. 1-49^v) and does not record that MS's final three volumes, but Morgan of Carmarthen's fifteenth-century inscription does. This may signify that the component volumes were combined between H460's redaction and Morgan's activity; alternatively, they were one, but the cataloguer recorded only the first item.

⁶⁶ Only exceptional catalogues like that of Dover (1389) identify every text in a collection. An avowed aim was to 'point the way to the speedy finding of individual treatises...': Gameson, 'Physical Setting'.

⁶⁷ The Barnwell Custumal states that the *armarius* should know all of the books of the church by their individual titles (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, p. xxv).

supplementary volume represents a new arrival. Although new volumes probably were acquired in the fifty-odd years following H460's redaction, the added volumes are not generally 'up-to-the-minute' works written since c.1350, texts that could not have been at Llanthony when H460 was compiled.⁶⁸ Some added volumes could have been elsewhere or overlooked at the time of the original reckoning and were only now added to library collection. Some later scribes placed new books alongside similar titles, but as the shelves became fuller it was inevitable that compromises to the organisation of the volumes would occur.⁶⁹ Books absent and lost are also noted: *deficit* might be added, or the entry scratched out. In particular, a high number of law books from the first shelf of the fourth *armarium* are marked as missing. These were perhaps outdated and had been discarded, were being used in the priory's affairs, or at university.

Other additions clarify the original scribe's work as, for example, when two original entries are joined with the comment *in uno*, or the author or title of a work is added or emended.⁷⁰ Sometimes, the number of copies of a work or some aspect of a volume's physical appearance is noted. Occasionally, there is a query concerning the location of a book: some legal texts are accompanied by the marginal addition *memorandum si in dormitorio*.⁷¹ The additions indicating that some Llanthony manuscripts were with named individuals in the second half of the fourteenth century seem unlikely to record the one-book-per-year reading system, which required as many books as there were canons to be away from the shelves at once. To note such 'ordinary' use of books would have been impractical in this document. Marginal notes about the location of certain volumes therefore probably reflect something more unusual. H460 also features editorial marks whose date and import are now

⁶⁸ With one exception: Jacobus Palladinus de Theramo (1349-1417), writing in 1382 (A16.503), seemingly the latest author recorded.

⁶⁹ A16.55-7 (*legenda sanctorum*, *taxatio*, law) were added to the end of the fourth shelf of the first *armarium*, but do not match its content (Psalters/commentaries thereon). This later scribe did though attempt to preserve the clarity of the original layout: the placing of A16.57 on the same line as A16.56 preserves a space between these three additions and the rubric for the following shelf, a visual buffer that would have been lost had A16.57 occupied its own line, as is the norm.

⁷⁰ E.g. A16.413, originally cited by its incipit, has a marginal addition supplying its author and title. The addition of *magnus* after the original entry A16.67 may serve to distinguish this volume from other copies of the same (e.g. A16.42).

⁷¹ A16.237-8. Annotations can be ambiguous in this respect - for example, it is unknown whether the *R de Glo* who had A16.275 was a canon (in which case the book was probably somewhere within the priory or accompanying a canon-scholar to university) or an outside borrower (if *Glo* signifies Gloucester, it might have been lent to a local person).

hard to define but which suggest a librarian's attention. These dashes,⁷² crosses⁷³ and other symbols⁷⁴ may record the loan or refurbishment of certain books. Many of the volumes marked in this way are again law books or logic or history. These additions suggest that Llanthony's legal texts were a fluid part of the collection - perhaps well-used, well-travelled and susceptible to loss.

A significant addition is A16.11: *Biblia de dono Magistri Willelmi Doune...*⁷⁵

Doune (d. before 9th August 1361) studied at Oxford and held many ecclesiastical appointments.⁷⁶ His will reveals that he had borrowed a Bible and other books from Llanthony Secunda and that these were to be restored to it following his death.⁷⁷

A16.11 suggests that the Bible, at least, was returned. The nature of the link between Doune and Llanthony that precipitated this loan is not known. This case is valuable evidence of the loan of books to outsiders and of an association, albeit probably indirect, between Llanthony Secunda and Oxford in the 1300s.

Perhaps the most interesting addition to H460 is folio 2^{r-v}: a fragment of parchment bearing writing in a cursive, hurried-looking and slightly cramped hand (of a lower grade than H460's main hand) which records the inspection of the collection using the catalogue in 1380:

[marginal sigla resembling a⁷⁸] *Examinacio et visus librorum. Lanthon' iuxta
Gloucestre' / in Ebdomad\al Pasche Anno domini millesimo. CCC\mol .lxxx\mol /*
[a at beginning of line] *Et Memorandum quod' examinacio secundum hoc
Registrum fuit / unde de libris deficientibus secundum dictum Registrum his /*
fieret annotacio. / [begins with mark resembling superscript a] In p\ri/mis deffic'

⁷² A16.54, A16.85, A16.91, A16.93, A16.95, A16.111.

⁷³ A16.103, A16.137-138, A16.139-141.

⁷⁴ A16.64, A16.72, A16.142-3.

⁷⁵ Plate XXXVII.

⁷⁶ For what follows see A. Hamilton Thomson, 'The Will of Master William Doune, Archdeacon of Leicester', *The Archaeological Journal*, 72 (1915), pp. 233-84, pp. 252, 270, 274; *BRUO*, ed. Emden, pp. 587-88.

⁷⁷ *Item bibliam pulcram quam habui ex acomodato prioris de Lanteny prope Gloucestriam, et alios libros quos in eorum principio scripsi seu intitulaui ipsius monasterij fore, eidem post mortem meam volo et rogo restitui indilate.* Also amongst the many bequests is *Item priori bono et grato ac comuentui monasterij de Lantony ad reparacionem claustris sui ibidem, cs.*

⁷⁸ Perhaps *item/nota* etc.

*in p^rilmo Armario libri .viz. / [begins with character resembling superscript a]
Biblia Willelmi de Colne magnum volumen et bonum.*⁷⁹

This was seemingly a list of books that were missing in 1380. The slip's mention of Llanthony Secunda is crucial for the provenance of H460 as a whole. Its hand ('the 1380 hand') can also be identified in the body of the catalogue, marking losses and making other comments. The Bible of *Willelmi de Colne* is indeed the first entry to be marked missing, by the 1380 hand.⁸⁰ The fact that this hand can be closely dated is very useful, as it is likely that its additions to the catalogue proper result from the examination that it states occurred in 1380. That this fragment of parchment is the remains of a longer list is supported by the fact that this hand marks a good few more volumes missing in the body of catalogue.

The 1380 hand updated the catalogue by adding a number of books.⁸¹ Amongst the books that it marked absent, A16.4 provides valuable evidence of how the collection grew over time: A16.4 (*Concordantia biblie. deficit Wigorn'*) is itself an addition, with the last two words added by the 1380 hand. This indicates that this book was acquired between c.1350 and 1380. The note that it was at Worcester (most logically at the cathedral) is important evidence for the loan of books to that nearby community, especially in view of the decorative and textual connections between some earlier manuscripts from these two houses.

The 1380 hand also provides other sorts of information. Following A16.5 (*Biblioteca Alexandri Corbeth in vno volumine magno.*) it adds *cum iiij. thec' deficit*. Three entries later, it has added *cum tec' [tecus?] arg' et [---]* to *Biblioteca Johannis de Wygornia*.... The 1380 hand has (probably) added an interesting comment next

⁷⁹ Between lines 5 and 6 are a few words in the same hand. They are justified to the right edge of the parchment: *vz de pmo* [possibly superscript letters above the *p*] *armar* [last couple of letters very cramped against right edge of page, but seem to be *io*, i.e. *armario*]. 'Audit and survey of the books of Llanthony by Gloucester/in the week of Easter in the year of the Lord 1380/And it is to be noted that the audit was done following this Register/As for the books which are missing therefrom, according to the aforesaid Register/an annotation was made for these./In the first place, the books that are missing in the first *armarium*: namely/the Bible of William de Colne, a great and good volume'.

⁸⁰ A16.2.

⁸¹ E.g. A16.12-13, A16.27, A16.102 (plate XXXVII). These entries were all added at the end of shelves. Datable additions to H460 provide a useful end date by which MSS associated with them had reached Llanthony. For example, OCCC 36 (s. xiv^m) pre-dates, but is absent from, the original catalogue, but was at Llanthony by 1380 (A16.12).

to the rubric for the fifth shelf of the first *armarium*. The single word *exp\l/* (*exp\c/?*) may be an observation resulting from the examination of that shelf, indicating that all were present and that the shelf was thus complete (*expletus*). Certainly, this is appropriate in the context of this shelf, from which the 1380 hand has not marked any books missing.

Another set of annotations indicates one way in which the collection was used in the fourteenth century. The original entry A16.127 (*Libri pastorales duo mediocres.*) is described as having *vnus. liber deficit vicarius Chirit'*. This is the first of five books which, the 1380 hand notes, are in the possession of the vicar of Cherington, a priory manor in east Gloucestershire.⁸² Llanthony Secunda could apparently, therefore, spare these volumes for a time. That the 1380 hand knew the location of these absent books shows a certain level of control over the collection, at least in 1380, whilst the loan of books to Worcester and to local clergy shows that Llanthony's collection was a resource for a wider circle of users than its canons alone.

Although various additions and emendments to H460 pre-date 1380, the words of the slip on f. 2^{r-v} suggest that the examination of that year was more comprehensive. The auditing of a catalogue written roughly a generation previously suggests administrative competence and an interest in the books. Although the 1380 emendations and corrections demonstrate that the collection had changed over the thirty-odd years of H460's existence, it also shows that the original information contained therein remained largely accurate. The checking of the books at Easter in 1380 seems likely to be connected to the custom of distributing reading books for the coming year at Lent.⁸³ Taken as a whole, the various emendments to H460 provide an invaluable snapshot of the life of the part of the collection recorded therein during

⁸² A16.127 (Gregory), A16.137 (John Chrysostom.), A16.147 (Isidore), A16.166 (Anselm of Canterbury), A16.309 (Bernard of Clairvaux), i.e. all 'traditional' theological works of interest to a pastor. It is perhaps significant that Llanthony Secunda's prior in 1380 was William of Chiriton.

⁸³ At Barnwell, a service at the beginning of Lent commemorated both the brethren who had produced books and donors of books (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, pp. 5-6) and the Barnwell Customal shows that the house's books were displayed at the beginning of each Lent. Similar customs may have been observed at Cirencester (*ibid.*, p. xxv). Evidence that Easter may have been a significant time in the management of Llanthony Secunda's books is a note in OQC 309 (s. xii^{3/4}) recording that it was lent by Prior Chiriton to *frater* Thomas Bradefeld from 10th August 1381 until the following Easter (f. ii^r).

the second half of the fourteenth century and illustrate conscientious librarians using the document to keep track of the books.⁸⁴

H460 augments the *ex dono* inscriptions in some Llanthony manuscripts by documenting the role of individuals in book acquisition. The catalogue indicates that books were received via donation (by canons and outsiders) and perhaps also by 'inheritance' from community members.⁸⁵ We have seen in previous chapters that some of Llanthony's priors donated books to their community in earlier times and H460 provides further examples for the 1300s. A *legenda sanctorum* was the gift of Prior William de Pendebury (c.1322-1324, 1326-d.1362).⁸⁶ It is a later addition to H460, perhaps because de Pendebury was still alive and had it in his personal possession at the time of the original compilation - a theory consonant with other evidence for a date of the 1350s for the catalogue.⁸⁷ That William was a very recent head of the community may be reflected in the cataloguer's precise use of his full name.

H460 associates two further volumes with William de Pendebury, although not explicitly as donations. Both were initially entered at the end of the catalogue, on the putative reference shelf. A copy of William of Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis* is *Liber qui dicitur oculus sacerdotis W. de Pendebury* (A16.506) and Henry Bracton's *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae* is *De jure terre Bracton per eiusdem* (A16.507). A16.506 was not entered by the main hand but may have been a fairly prompt addition, assuming that a book associated with William de Pendebury was entered shortly after his death. Both entries were later erased and re-entered elsewhere,

⁸⁴ The Barnwell Custumal describes the precentor's rôle as librarian: he was required to correct and repair books, to record the titles of books used by the canons and the names of those using them (a similar record was kept of all books loaned to outsiders), and to supervise and provide for the production of books within the community (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, pp. 5-6). The emendments to H460 indicate that the second of these three functions at least was carried out by those charged with the care of books at Llanthony.

⁸⁵ 'Fewer books than might at first appear...were...gifts: the catalogue seems to distinguish between books given *de dono*...and books recorded as *biblioteca* or *liber* followed by a name in the genitive. The latter...probably identify books held by deceased monks in their own cells' (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson pp. 34-5).

⁸⁶ A16.55: *Legenda sanctorum. de dono Willelmi de Pendebury prioris lant*'.

⁸⁷ A donation within William's lifetime is feasible but as he died shortly after H460's original redaction and as this entry is an addition, it seems possible that his books were added after his death.

where the books' connection with William de Pendebury is not recorded.⁸⁸ Why these books were re-located is unknown – they were not moved to join similar material. The nature of William's association with them is unclear. The catalogue's wording may signify that he owned or acquired them and that they passed into the institutional collection when he died.⁸⁹

Several more manuscripts were given by, or associated with, an unidentified Prior *W.* – perhaps William de Pendebury again.⁹⁰ These are all original entries (which may differentiate them from those, above, definitely associated with de Pendebury). Their content - law, a Hebrew grammar and a book about surgery - is simultaneously diverse yet specialised and may reflect the interests or responsibilities of former owner(s). Prior *W.*'s books were available to the main cataloguer (and, by implication, with the main book collection) in the mid-1350s. If they are the books of a deceased Prior *W.* this is understandable, but if Prior *W.* is William de Pendebury (d.1362), these books were seemingly part of the main library before his death.⁹¹

H460 also links a number of books with individuals of whom we know only their name.⁹² They were presumably Llanthony canons, perhaps deceased, whose books -

⁸⁸ A16.506 became A16.144. A16.507 became A16.418. The re-entry A16.144 is not in the same hand as A16.55 (the book [above] explicitly given by de Pendebury), so perhaps the two were not entered at the same time and the books associated howsoever with William were not entered as a group.

⁸⁹ Webber and Watson (*Augustinian Canons*) suggest that A16.507/418 is now Fitzwilliam, McClean 145 (s. xiii^{ex}). This book bears no record of an association with William and was probably at Llanthony Secunda before his priorate (it contains documents concerning the priorate of his immediate predecessor). It would have been a useful volume for William to inherit as prior, although entry into H460 would suggest that subsequent priors did not have the same relationship with the book. Webber and Watson identify A16.506/144 with LP 216 (s. xiv^{ex}), but this book is too late to be the copy of *Oculus sacerdotis* associated with de Pendebury.

⁹⁰ Gifts: A16.247 (...*ex dono W. prioris*...[Justinian, *Institutiones*]); A16.259: (...*ex dono W. prioris*...[one of the *Quinque compilationes antiquae*?]); A16.454 (*Donatus cum expositione ebraice de dono W. prioris*...); A16.470 (...*de dono W. prioris* [Roger of Salerno, *Chirurgia*]). Associated with: A16.239 (*Decreta*[-les] *W. prioris*...[Gratian]); A16.260 (*Decretales W. prioris*...[Gregory IX, *Decretales*]).

⁹¹ In addition to the known donor of books William de Pendebury, other possible priors *W.* are William of Ashwell (1260s-70s) and Walter of Martley (1283-?1300). William of Chirton (1377-1401) is too late to be associated with an original entry. Linked to these entries may be two thirteenth-century MSS examined in the previous chapter which contain *ex dono* inscriptions of prior(s) William (one, Cotton App. xxiv, is A16.302 and was probably donated by William of Ashwell).

⁹² E.g. A16.2 (*Biblioteca Willelmi de Colne*...); A16.5 (*Biblioteca Alexandri Corbeth*...); A16.7 (*Biblioteca Gilberti de Haunne*...); A16.8 (*Biblioteca Johannis de Wygornia*...); A16.45 (*Psalterium Willelmi de Werdon*...); A16.46 (*Psalterium Clementis prioris*...). All except A16.7 are original

Bibles and Psalters (in contrast to the legal and medical texts associated with priors William de Pendebury and 'W.') - had passed into the communal collection. A canon might have had seisin of a Bible or Psalter for long enough for it to be associated with him, but the question of individual canons 'owning' such basic texts is complex.⁹³ Were these books a *Nachlass*, they had presumably belonged to recent canons who were remembered when H460 was compiled. The even more ambiguous form *Liber...* permits that the person mentioned was a donor, owner, scribe or author.⁹⁴

The presence or absence in H460 of donations documented elsewhere might help to indicate for how long it continued to be updated. Yet caution is required: only six books from John Lecche's bequest of fifty-seven to Llanthony during H460's active lifetime are listed therein.⁹⁵ H460 does not therefore necessarily record (or record fully) all donations of c.1350-c.1400. The commemoration of donors in the catalogue may have depended on the personal choice of the precentor; a proportion of the noted books may have had an unrecorded connection with someone. There is no sign of fifteenth-century emendations or additions to H460: the books of Richard Calne (at Oxford 1413-21) were not added; there are no annotations by the fifteenth-century canon, Morgan of Carmarthen; nor is any extant fifteenth-century manuscript identifiable in it. In conjunction with palaeographical evidence, these facts indicate that H460 was no longer updated after the early 1400s.

entries. Two of these names (A16.45 and A16.46) may be of a glossator rather than/in addition to an owner.

⁹³ Whether a book associated with a canon might be one he had acquired himself, or on his community's behalf with its funds, is unclear. In the latter case, ultimate donation/bequest to the community would seem a formality. This may be what is signified by these entries. At Barnwell, books produced within the community were communal property and not that of canons who made them (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, pp. 5-6). Yet a near-contemporary example from Llanthony Secunda demonstrates personal ownership of books there: the defeated candidate in the disputed prior elections of the 1320s was allowed to remove his personal books on retiring from the community.

⁹⁴ E.g. A16.94 (*Libellus Humfridi...*); A16.295 (*Liber R. monachi...*); A16.305 (*Liber Roberti de Stanes...*). Here fall the *Liber Sermonum quondam Rogeri prioris* (A16.339), presumably linked to prior Roger of Norwich (c.1174)?de Godestre (c.1205) and the *Liber Iohannis prioris secundi* (A16.348), which may be connected to Prior John of Hempstead I or II (s. xiii^m-c.1241) or John de Chaundos (1300-c.1322). Such associations were presumably recorded in the (lost) MSS as, apart from the last, these priors were beyond living memory when H460 was compiled.

⁹⁵ He d. before 6th August 1361.

Let us briefly consider the possible context in which Llanthony's library catalogue was compiled. There is no evidence to suggest that H460 was preceded or superseded by another book-list.⁹⁶ Why, after 250 years, was one deemed necessary? The greater dynamism of Llanthony's book collection *c.* 1130-*c.* 1250 might have made that the most natural time for the compilation of such a document. However, such vigour may not have been conducive to the production of a library record. Initially, Llanthony did not own enough books to necessitate a catalogue; subsequently, with rapid accessions combined with upheaval, relocation and division, any list would quickly have become outdated. In the aftermath of the division of the community *c.* 1205, a book-list might have usefully codified which Llanthony owned which books.

The most important clue to the impetus behind the compilation of H460 may be its date. Palaeographical and internal evidence suggests the 1350s and this accords with our knowledge of events at Llanthony Secunda then. The first half of the 1300s brought upheaval to the community: following the 1301 fire that destroyed the priory church came economic hardships, jurisdictional conflict with Gloucester abbey and a prolonged dispute over the election of its prior in the 1320s. The Black Death in 1348-9 then killed 19 of Secunda's 30 canons. Following such turmoil and given the loss of communal memory caused by the plague, there was logically a drive to inventory possessions (the book-list is matched by the listing of other property in broadly coeval registers and cartularies). This effort to define Llanthony's possessions, property and rights might be regarded as a prelude to attempts to establish order and reform which seemingly continued into the 1400s. By *c.* 1350 also, the flow of books into Llanthony had apparently lessened; therefore a library catalogue could not only be created but, as indicated by the emendations to H460, the information therein could remain valid for two generations thereafter.⁹⁷

Personal impetus was probably also significant in the redaction of H460. Rarely does evidence survive to show exactly who compiled a library catalogue and there is

⁹⁶ Although any earlier catalogue might have been discarded once supplanted by H460.

⁹⁷ The apparently small number of MSS acquired by Llanthony between *c.* 1400 and 1538 suggests that H460 could have been used for the remainder of the community's lifetime.

no indication of who might have been responsible for that of Llanthony Secunda.⁹⁸ Custumals usually state which official was in charge of a community's books, but no such documentation survives from Llanthony. However, H460's very existence is evidence that someone at Llanthony had a strong interest in, and knowledge of, its books and a 'librarian' (howsoever titled) is the obvious candidate for such a role. It is tempting to identify the single hand responsible for H460's original entries with the 'librarian' himself, seemingly the most likely fulfiller of this task. In addition to the librarian, the range of documents compiled contemporaneously makes it certain that the prior, William de Pendebury, was overseeing or requiring their redaction – the books connected to him in H460 attest to his interest in literary matters.⁹⁹

The same official may have carried out the 1380 audit of the library. The emendments of 1380 show that this examination was generally necessary and useful, but what prompted such a check to be undertaken at this time is unknown. Although it does not coincide with the beginning of a new priorate, the audit occurred three years into the incumbency of the energetic William of Chiriton (1377-1401).¹⁰⁰ It may mark the start of the tenure of a new librarian. Whatever the reason, the 1380 update was organised and careful and the slip (f. 2) shows that a record of missing volumes was kept. The 1380 emendations were recorded by a single hand, indicating an overseer or controller and paralleling the original writing of the catalogue by one hand.

In order to judge how typical H460 is as a library list, some comparison may be made with similar documents from Titchfield and Leicester.¹⁰¹ Unlike H460, the Titchfield catalogue is precisely dated, to 29 September 1400.¹⁰² It is well written and articulated and begins with a preface describing the book-room and the storage of the volumes in book-cases - another contrast to Llanthony, the location of whose

⁹⁸ Dover is once again an exception: John Whytefeld, the precentor, compiled the catalogue and registers there.

⁹⁹ Although William's register is lost, further evidence of his role might be contained in the unedited cartulary for the immediate post-Black Death period (TNA, C115/75, no. 6681; C115/77, no. 6683).

¹⁰⁰ *Vide* Langston, 'Priors', pp. 96-7.

¹⁰¹ A caveat is that H460 may be of a different status to the extant copies of these catalogues:

Titchfield's catalogue may be a 'written-up' copy; Leicester's surviving catalogue is a fair copy.

¹⁰² BL, Add. 70507, ed. Bell, *Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, list P6, whence the following details are extracted

books is unknown.¹⁰³ Each shelf was assigned a letter, each book was identified by a similar letter (corresponding to its shelf) and a Roman numeral indicating its position thereon - a much more precise system of matching books with their slot than seems to have operated at Llanthony.¹⁰⁴ Each volume in Titchfield's collection is listed separately by its press-number, with its contents immediately beneath. The catalogue lists over 1000 titles (as distinct from volumes). Titchfield's books are organised in roughly the same order as Llanthony's: patristics and standard medieval authors are well-represented, but not scholastic philosophers and theologians; there were substantial holdings in grammar, law and medicine, and good Aristotelian holdings (unlike at Llanthony). Titchfield's collection is all the more impressive given that this catalogue was compiled only c.170 years after the community's foundation. This document records similar 'housekeeping' activity to H460.

In contrast to H460, the late-fifteenth-century catalogue of the Leicester Augustinians apparently attempts to record all of that community's books (940-plus volumes).¹⁰⁵ This was also once part of a larger manuscript and is, like H460, the work of one scribe. The main catalogue is arranged according to basic subject classification.¹⁰⁶ Noteworthy are over eighty medical volumes; school books and advanced liberal arts texts represent learning at different levels. There was some attempt to enumerate individual texts and like H460, this catalogue commemorates donors. A more sophisticated approach - reflecting its advanced date - is indicated by the inclusion of *secundo folio* references. William Charyte, the precentor and subsequently prior, was responsible for drawing up the document - an interesting parallel with the proposed role of William de Pendebury and our scribe in the redaction of H460.

To sum up, Llanthony Secunda's library catalogue gives an invaluable snapshot of its book collection in the later fourteenth century. H460's description of the size and

¹⁰³ Some of Titchfield's books were kept elsewhere (P6.45).

¹⁰⁴ Titchfield's catalogue does not give such detailed descriptions of volumes as H460, perhaps because H460's descriptions are intended partly to distinguish between particular MSS, whereas at Titchfield the press-marks did this.

¹⁰⁵ Bodleian, MS Laud Misc. 623, ed. Webber and Watson, *Augustinian Canons*, list A20, whence the following details are extracted. This catalogue reveals that Leicester's library was the largest known of a British Augustinian house.

¹⁰⁶ Books were kept in the *libraria*, the scriptorium, the refectory, the infirmary and church.

content of the collection c.1350-c.1400 illustrates how much is now lost and enables us to understand Llanthony's individual surviving manuscripts in relation to the collection as a whole which, the emendations to the document show, continued to evolve. Without its witness, our understanding of Llanthony's library c.1400 would be greatly impoverished.

Part II: The Donation of John Lecche

We now examine the fourteenth-century books of Llanthony provenance. The important donation by Dr. John Lecche forms most of Llanthony Secunda's known manuscript acquisitions of c.1350-c.1400. Lecche, of Northleach, Gloucestershire, held many positions in the church, was a canon of (*inter alia*) Hereford and chancellor of Oxford University in 1338-9. He died before 6th August 1361 and a copy of his will is preserved in Llanthony's fourteenth-century cartulary.¹⁰⁷

Lecche's connection with Llanthony is unknown, but he bequeathed all fifty-seven books mentioned in this copy of his will to it - a massive bequest when a big university book collection might comprise only a couple of hundred volumes.

Lecche's bequest is largely composed of legal texts, including several new to Llanthony Secunda. The *corpus iuris civilis* is represented by Justinian's *Digesta*¹⁰⁸ and *Codex*,¹⁰⁹ plus Azo's apparatus for the last.¹¹⁰ In canon law, the bequest includes Gratian,¹¹¹ Gregory IX's *Decretales*,¹¹² and canonists such as Henry of Ostia.¹¹³ Significantly, Lecche's bequest included several recent works which, given the circumstances of the 1300s, Llanthony is unlikely to have acquired otherwise at this time - for example, Clement V's *Liber Septimus Decretalium* (transmitted in 1317),¹¹⁴ Giles of Rome's (d.1316) *De regimine principum*¹¹⁵ and the *Rosarium*

¹⁰⁷ Webber and Watson state that nothing is known of Lecche after 1355, but he remained legal advisor to Winchester Cathedral Priory c.1356 and was a legatee in a will in 1361 (*BRUO*, ed. Emden, pp. 1118-19). His will (TNA, C115/75 no. 6681, f. 281^r), is ed. Webber and Watson, *Augustinian Canons*, list A17 (by which preface, plus a number indicating their position in the will, Lecche's books will be cited). They date it c.1355-60.

¹⁰⁸ A17.5, A17.24, A17.10, A17.18, A17.43, A17.6.

¹⁰⁹ A17.12, A17.27.

¹¹⁰ A17.17.

¹¹¹ A17.4, A17.34.

¹¹² A17.14, A17.23.

¹¹³ A17.1, A17.8, A17.2.

¹¹⁴ A17.3, A17.28.

¹¹⁵ A17.13.

(c.1300) of Guido de Baysio (d.1313).¹¹⁶ A little theology is also included,¹¹⁷ as are a text in French,¹¹⁸ a paper in Lecce's own hand¹¹⁹ and a *regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*.¹²⁰ Altogether, this was an invaluable bequest which greatly augmented and updated Llanthony's overall holdings and rendered the 1300s its most fruitful period of book acquisition since the 1100s. Both Lecce's career and the nature of the texts that he bequeathed suggest some link between Llanthony and the university milieu in the fourteenth century.¹²¹

That Llanthony's canons copied Lecce's will into their contemporary cartulary shows the importance that they attached to his bequest.¹²² However, H460 does not reflect this importance, as only six of Lecce's legal books were added to it, all by the same neat hand, appropriately in a group at the end of a section of legal texts.¹²³ H460 does not note that they were a donation. Why is unknown: the size of Lecce's bequest renders it certain that the precentor/*armarius* would have known of the association of these books with him, while the perceived significance of the donation is indicated by its entry into the cartulary and (some) other donors are recorded in H460. There was perhaps insufficient space at this point in H460 for the donor to be named.¹²⁴

Whether the absence of Lecce's remaining books from H460 reflects their absence from the shelves is unclear.¹²⁵ If it does, the simplest explanation may be that the shelving arrangement could not accommodate such a large number of extra volumes

¹¹⁶ A16.26.

¹¹⁷ A concordance (A17.19); the Pauline epistles glossed (A17.21); Jerome's *Epistulae* (A17.35); *Sermones dominicales* (A17.39); *legenda sanctorum* (A17.44); Peter Lombard's *Sententia* (A17.30).

¹¹⁸ Pierre d'Abernon of Peckham, *La lumière as lais* (A17.51).

¹¹⁹ A17.53 (which is, however, said to remain with one of Lecce's executors).

¹²⁰ A17.55.

¹²¹ Lecce's donation can be set alongside Llanthony's association with William Doune (discussed above), who also had Oxford connections.

¹²² They perhaps wished to secure a sizeable bequest from an external donor from potential counter-claimants.

¹²³ A16.277-81. Plate XXXVIII. Those added are Innocent IV, *Apparatus in quinque libros Decretalium* (A16.277/A17.31); William Durandus the Elder, *Speculum iudiciale* (A16.278/A17.15/29); Gregory IX, *Decretales* (A16.279/?A17.14/23); *Duo Hostienses*: Henry of Ostia, *Summa super titulis Decretalium* (A16.280/A17.1/2/8); Boniface VIII, *Liber Sextus* (A16.281/A17.16). The last was initially added as H460's final item (A16.508) and later transferred to A16.281 to form a Lecce group with A16.277-80, all added in another secondary hand.

¹²⁴ The Lecce books' position at the end of a shelf means that the scribe of H460 has written them across the whole width of the page in order to preserve a gap between them and the following shelf.

¹²⁵ To insert 50-odd volumes into H460 would have been logistically difficult.

and that the majority of Lecche's books was consequently kept elsewhere, rendering it ineligible for addition to H460.¹²⁶ Or, perhaps, some of the books bequeathed by Lecche were not found amongst his chattels, or his intentions were not fully enacted, and therefore Llanthony did not receive all of his books.¹²⁷ Alternatively, why were these particular six books selected for inclusion in H460? There is no obvious reason - although some of their texts are not found elsewhere in the catalogue and thus may have been new to the library, others were already there.¹²⁸ The scribe did not mechanically copy a 'run' of Lecche's books into H460 in the order in which they appear in the will and so was not simply transcribing portions of it with the missing books explained, for example, by failure to complete the task.¹²⁹

The relocation of Lecche's *Liber Sextus* from its initial position (A16.508) on the only shelf of the fifth *armarium* (the proposed reference shelf) to A16.281 is logical, grouping it with legal texts and Lecche's other books. Why it alone amongst Lecche's books was initially positioned there is unknown. It was possibly intended to enhance the reference shelf, in which Gratian is otherwise the sole legal text. Not all of Lecche's books would have fitted on the single reference shelf and placing them there would have unbalanced its character. Lecche's *Liber Sextus* was one of three books removed from this shelf and re-entered elsewhere, which suggests a pruning of the reference shelf.¹³⁰

The scribe who added Lecche's books to H460 also added several others. As none of these can be matched with items in Lecche's will, they are seemingly unconnected to him.¹³¹ That this scribe was not exclusively linked to Lecche's bequest suggests that the latter's books were entered as part of a wider updating of H460 or, conversely,

¹²⁶ This would support the theory that the fifth *armarium* had but a single shelf.

¹²⁷ Although as Llanthony's copy of Lecche's will notes that two of his books (A17.52-53) were still held by his executors, other books might have been similarly annotated had they also not been received. Other items are marked with *W* (A17.36; A17.38) or *WT* (A17.37), suggesting that Lecche's executors may also have retained these. Webber and Watson suggest that books may not have reached Llanthony because it failed to satisfy Lecche's condition that it build a chantry (*Augustinian Canons*, p. 95).

¹²⁸ In any case, other works in Lecche's bequest that are not in H460 (e.g. A17.13; A17.17) were not entered to rectify this deficit.

¹²⁹ The scribe also adapted the form of citation: Lecche's will employs *secundo folio* references when describing his books; H460 substitutes its more usual description of their bindings.

¹³⁰ That the hand that re-entered A16.508 at A16.281 also re-entered A16.507 at A16.418 suggests that these books were erased from their original positions around the same time.

¹³¹ A16.114, A16.214, A16.253-254, A16.418 (formerly A16.507).

that the task of entering them prompted the addition of other un-catalogued books. The earliest date for the reception of Lecche's books at Llanthony is likely to be c.1356, with any time into the 1360s feasible. H460 seemingly predates their arrival (although the fact that Lecche's books are additions to it does not clarify the date of its redaction, because the dates of Lecche's death and of his books' arrival at Llanthony are unknown, and they may not have been entered into H460 straightaway). Lecche may have intended his books to assist Llanthony Secunda's rejuvenation following the Black Death, but the donation was also, as the stipulation that the canons should build a chantry suggests, for the salvation of his soul.

Part III: Llanthony's Fourteenth-Century Books

Several of Lecche's books survive, and are identifiable by his *ex dono* and their appearance in his will.¹³² The wording of the *ex dono* is fairly uniform in all.¹³³

*Istum librum*¹³⁴ *Legavit m'r*¹³⁵ *Johannes Lech*¹³⁶ *Ecclesie Lanth' iuxta Glouc'* –
*Cuius anima per misericordiam dei*¹³⁷ *requiescat in pace*¹³⁸ – *Amen* – *Qui eum*
*alienauerit a dicta domo anathema sit - Amen.*¹³⁹

Only two of Lecche's extant books, LP 115 and LP 137, do not contain such an inscription. The inscriptions were all entered by the same hand (which is probably not that which added the Lecche books to H460). This and their homogenous wording suggest that they were inserted into these books at the same time, presumably either by one of Lecche's executors, preparatory to their dispatch to Llanthony, or on arrival there by someone recording the bequest.

The examination of the surviving books greatly supplements the information in Lecche's will by revealing their full content and something of their origins. Two of

¹³² Approximately 15% of Lecche's books have been identified, a figure roughly equal to the survival rate of other law books in H460 (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, p. 95).

¹³³ Variations of wording are noted in the example here given, but see the full transcription of each *ex dono* in the relevant handlist entry for individual punctuation and contractions.

¹³⁴ LP 13, LP 129: *Istud volumen*; LP 21: *Istum Librum Innocencii*; LP 37: *Istum librum Info[erasure]atum*; LP 39: *Istum librum legis longobardorum*; LP 375: *Istum libellum*.

¹³⁵ LP 37: *magr'*.

¹³⁶ LP 37: *Johannes de Lecch'*.

¹³⁷ LP 39: *anima dei*.

¹³⁸ LP 39: *inpace*.

¹³⁹ LP 150: *fiat fiat Amen*. Plate XXXIX.

the six Lecce manuscripts that were entered in H460 survive. The book forming A17.16 and A16.508/281 is LP 13 (s. xiv¹). It holds Boniface VIII's (d.1303) *Liber Sextus* and related texts: the Bolognese canonist Johannes Andreae's (d.1348) *Apparatus ad Sextum* (completed 1304) and *Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis*, Guido de Baysio's *Summula in VI libros decreti Bonifatii VIII* and John XXII, *Extravagantes*.¹⁴⁰ This manuscript's component parts may have different origins: the fourth text (de Baysio) is in a Bolognese hand, whilst the fifth (*Extravagantes*) is in a narrow English one. An initial showing the Pope addressing a tonsured man and a doctor is also English work.¹⁴¹ LP 21 (s. xiv) is Lecce's copy of Innocent IV, *Apparatus super V libros Decretalium*, a commentary on Gregory IX's *Decretales*.¹⁴² The original top of f. ii has been removed and replaced by a strip bearing Lecce's *ex dono* - Lecce was most probably not the volume's first owner and may have removed a previous *ex libris*. This book was also written in Italy, but not in the round Bolognese hand; there are remains of Italian ornament.¹⁴³ Notes on the decretals on the end-leaves indicate scholarly interest.

Also representing Lecce's legal pursuits is LP 39 (s. xiii-xiv), which contains the *leges langobardorum*, Bartholomew of Brescia's *quaestiones dominicales et veneriales*, the Franciscan martyr Monaldus of Ancona's *summa* and Bernard of Compostella's *Notabilia et casus Decretalium*. All are by Italian hands; an inscription suggests that Lecce might have acquired the book at Oxford.¹⁴⁴ LP 37 is a late-thirteenth-century copy of the *Digestum uetus*. An inscription of 1309 suggests that this book had also, unsurprisingly, then been in a university environment.¹⁴⁵

Others of Lecce's books indicate his non-legal interests. LP 68 (s. xiv), William Durandus the Elder's *Rationale diuinorum officiorum* (a compendium of liturgical

¹⁴⁰ Compiled between 1325 and 1327: a very modern piece of scholarship for Llanthony. This MS demonstrates that Lecce's will, like H460, does not necessarily list every text in his books (A17.16 records only the *Liber Sextus*). We cannot therefore judge his books' exact contribution to Llanthony's holdings.

¹⁴¹ F. 89^r. James, *Catalogue*.

¹⁴² A16.277/A17.31, the *secundo folio* given by which (*habere partem*) does not agree with that of LP 21.

¹⁴³ James, *Catalogue*.

¹⁴⁴ F. ii^v: *liber magistri* [erasure] *emptus de yuone de ca[---]testrete oxon'*... in a hand earlier than Lecce's inscription (s. xiii?). A17.25.

¹⁴⁵ F. 215^v: *Galfridus de Wyttelay Cavit pro emtionel huius Libri testibus Willelmo de pottelon [poccehon?] / communi stacionario et Nicholao de Oisceford / Anno dm' m\ol c\ol c\ol c\ol ix\o.* A17.5/A17.10.

knowledge with allegorical interpretations), is again by a good Italian hand.¹⁴⁶ A fantastic initial – also Italian work¹⁴⁷ – opens the text and depicts a seated Durandus holding a book. As well as Lecce's *ex dono*, an inscription in this volume seems to name Llanthony.¹⁴⁸ Another recent liturgical commentary is found in LP 150 (s. xivⁱⁿ), which again demonstrates the importance of having a manuscript to compare with Lecce's will. The Dominican regent master Nicholas Trevet's (d. c.1334) *De Officio Missae* is not listed at A17.13, which records only the volume's main text, Giles of Rome's political treatise *De regimine principum*. Giles's *De peccato originali* is also present. LP 375 (s. xiv) contains several theological works by Albert of Brescia.¹⁴⁹ Lecce's inscription is supplemented by a Llanthony *ex libris*: *Jstius libelli' possessio prioratui lantonie / omnino prebetur* (f. i^r) in a decorative late-medieval hand. One of the book's hands is Italian. A copy of Peter of Limoges's *Oculus moralis* is bound with Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*.¹⁵⁰ Erased inscriptions on the flyleaf could be *cautiones*, reflecting the environment in which Lecce is likely to have acquired his books.

One of Lecce's books, which must have been very bulky in its earlier state, survives as two manuscripts. The nicely-written LP 115 (s. xivⁱⁿ) holds, in its first volume, Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and, in its second, a table thereon. The book's flyleaves are lost; however, it was once part of LP 129 which, by association, makes it one of Lecce's. LP 129 (s. xiv) contains an array of theological work, amongst which Ambrose features strongly.¹⁵¹ Patristic material is uncommon in Lecce's collection

¹⁴⁶ James, *Catalogue*. Plate XXXIX.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ The front flyleaf bears a partially erased earlier inscription: *Racionale diuinorum officiorum p[re]l[er]?*. The word *lantonie* seems to end the line (*ibid.*). A17.42.

¹⁴⁹ *De amore et dilectione Dei; De doctrina dicendi et tacendi; de consolatione et consilio; sermo de S. Agatha quem Albertanus composuit et edidit inter causidicas Jamuenses; sermo factus super illuminatione; sermo secundus quem Albertanus composuit inter Fratres Minores Brixienses; Sermo factus ad cognoscendum que sint necessaria in convivio; Sermo de S. Agatha quem Albertanus composuit et edidit inter causidicas Brixienses*. A17.48. A fifteenth-century English hand has begun a *tabula capitulorum* (James, *Catalogue*) (at Llanthony?).

¹⁵⁰ LP 137 (s. xiv). Bartholomew Anglicus de Glanville, OFM. *De proprietatibus rerum* appears in many MSS and was probably completed c.1250. This book does not have Lecce's *ex dono*; however it can be matched with A17.41 (*Item liber qui dicitur prophetum [sic] de proprietatibus rerum. Secundo folio nulla*) by its *secundo folio (nulla notio)*.

¹⁵¹ John Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa* (tr. Burgundio of Pisa); Ps.-Augustine, *Categoriae X*; Prosper (Julianus Pomerius), *De uita contemplatiua*; Aur. Augustine (Prosper of Aquitaine), *De uera innocencia* (=Prosper, *Sententiae ex operibus S. Augustini*); Hugh of S.-Victor, Homilies on Ecclesiastes, *De beatae Mariae uirginitate*; Ambrose: *Hexaameron*, *De fide*, *De uirginitate*, *De uiduis*,

and this volume would have supplemented Llanthony's not-especially-robust holdings of Ambrose. Contents lists indicate the erstwhile presence of the *Sentences* and suggest LP 115 as the missing part of this book.¹⁵²

Lecche's bequest therefore greatly enlarged Llanthony's range of legal holdings and added other relatively recent treatises. The content of Lecche's handsome volumes strongly suggests that he acquired them in a university milieu; this is also the most likely environment in which to have acquired books written in an Italian hand. He is unlikely (certainly in the case of the Italian volumes) to have been their first owner – the probable removal and replacement of a previous ownership inscription in LP 21 supports this; likewise the possible *cautiones* in LP 137 and LP 37. Yet Lecche is also likely to have been able to buy or commission new books should he have so wished.

Llanthony Secunda acquired a further six fourteenth-century manuscripts independently of Lecche. LP 60 (s. xiv), another copy of the *Liber Sextus*, in a good Italian hand, continues the legal theme.¹⁵³ Of interest is an inscription revealing that, in the 1400s at least, it resided at Llanthony's Irish cell of Duleek (Meath).¹⁵⁴ How long it had been there is unknown. It probably reached Ireland *via* England and through Llanthony, which is likely to have supplied or loaned books to its Irish cell.¹⁵⁵

Five fourteenth-century volumes contain material relating to Llanthony's communal life. From the turn of the fourteenth-to-fifteenth-centuries survive two liturgical manuscripts of undoubted Llanthony Secunda provenance. BL, Lansdowne 387 is a legendary containing the lives and miracles of Sts. Kyneburg and Kenan. St.

De uirginibus, Exhortatio uirginitatis, De mysteriis, De sacramentis, De fuga saeculi; Ps-Ambrose, *De lapsu uirginis consecratae*.

¹⁵² Contents lists on both the front- and end-leaves record the presence of the *Sentences* and of *tabula* (or *Breuiarium*) *super sentencias*. These MSS form A17.30: *Item liber primus sententiarum. Secundo folio ex'ciam*: the *Sentences* are again recorded and the *secundo folio, (ex)istenciam*, agrees. Webber and Watson suggest that the compiler of A17 recorded the *Sentences* because they were a recognisable text in a large volume (*Augustinian Canons*, p. 99).

¹⁵³ James, *Catalogue*. Its front fly-leaves bear various law notes. Its end-leaves are waste leaves of a canon law MS of the same date as this volume. A price on the last end-leaf indicates professional production.

¹⁵⁴ F. ii^a (s. xv) *Iste liber pertinet ad priorem de dyneleke*.

¹⁵⁵ This area would repay future exploration.

Kyneburg was local to Gloucester and Robert de Béthune, Llanthony's former prior, had consecrated a chapel to her in 1147.¹⁵⁶ Significantly, this manuscript records Llanthony Secunda's involvement in her 1390 translation.¹⁵⁷ St. Kenan, an Irish bishop and disciple of St. Martin of Tours, built the first stone cathedral at Duleek, of which he was patron. This book could then have been manufactured specifically for Llanthony, perhaps even in-house: the conjunction of these saints is unlikely to have been relevant elsewhere.¹⁵⁸ Also of s. xiv/xv is a *Collectarium* (OCCC 192) with liturgical links to Llanthony.¹⁵⁹ As its offices would have been designed specifically for use by the community, this volume was probably at Llanthony from manufacture.

These two manuscripts indicate that in the late fourteenth century, Llanthony Secunda renewed or replaced service books.¹⁶⁰ They support the evidence of H460 and of the coeval archival documents to suggest that Llanthony Secunda attempted to re-assert its identity and revitalise its communal life c.1350-c.1400. Their production may have been prompted by the translation of St. Kyneburg's relics in 1390 - the content of Lansdowne 387 in particular is closely allied to this event. In addition to its spiritual significance, the translation would have re-asserted Secunda's status within Gloucester and brought financial benefits.¹⁶¹ The production of a 'commemorative' lectionary therefore seems reasonable. Although at this date such books are likely to have been produced professionally, Lansdowne 387's most natural origin is in-house at Llanthony Secunda. That community's fourteenth-century archive books and library catalogue demonstrate that it had then the ability to produce books itself. Although H460 comprises but a single quire, the registers are more impressive volumes: large, bound, logically structured and competently written

¹⁵⁶ There were three Anglo-Saxon saints of this name. This is Kyneburga of Gloucester, of whose relics Archbishop Courtenay ordered a fresh translation in 1390. See D. Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 97-8.

¹⁵⁷ On 10th April 1390, the translation of Kyneburg's relics was celebrated in Gloucester by the bishop of Worcester, the abbot of St. Peter's and the priors of Llanthony and St. Oswald's (*inter alios*). Relics, which had been placed in the new chapel of St. Kyneburg dedicated by Robert de Béthune, had subsequently been removed surreptitiously by the priest in charge and on their recovery in 1390 they were restored to her shrine (Langston, 'Priors', p. 102; Lansdowne 387, f. 31). Prior William of Chiriton's (1377-1401) register records expenses concerning the translations of St. Kenan in 1383 and St. Kyneburg in 1390 (Langston, 'Priors', p. 97).

¹⁵⁸ Earlier Llanthony MSS also commemorate St. Kyneburg (e.g. OCCC 59, OCCC 159).

¹⁵⁹ It contains a *martyrologium*, *kalendarium*, *officium missae*, *orationes* and *lectiones*.

¹⁶⁰ Some older service books may have been damaged in the fire of 1301, necessitating their eventual replacement.

¹⁶¹ Indeed, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* includes offerings in St. Kyneburg's chapel amongst Llanthony's possessions (Langston, 'Priors', pp. 137-8).

and articulated. Moreover, Lansdowne 387, a slim volume by more than one scribe and decorated by pen-flourished initials, is a neat but not striking book which is likely to have been within the community's ability to produce itself. These two liturgical volumes are as personal to Llanthony as the registers and library catalogue.¹⁶²

Three more fourteenth-century Llanthony books suggest the rejuvenation of community life. The former Bristol, Baptist College Z.d.5 (s. xiv^{med}) also certainly belonged to Llanthony Secunda.¹⁶³ After a key Augustinian text - the Rule of St. Augustine with Hugh of S.-Victor's commentary¹⁶⁴ - and related matter, the remainder of the volume is occupied by material concerning the ancestry of Llanthony's founders.¹⁶⁵ The first page has a historiated initial showing Augustine as a bishop writing the opening of his Rule in a book. The local items, almost certainly Llanthony work, thus commemorate important people in a spiritually resonant context. BL, Harley 462 holds *Homiliae variae pro varijs diebus Dominicis et Festivalibus* and Harley 463 a collection of many short moralistic fables and Christian maxims, of the sort used when constructing sermons.¹⁶⁶ The last two books were, in or by the sixteenth century, bound with H460.

The period c.1350-c.1400 seems therefore to have been one of rejuvenation at Llanthony Secunda. Its library catalogue shows that the existing book collection continued to evolve and be used during this half-century, whilst the extant books of that time demonstrate that new acquisitions continued (although these would be meagre if Lecche's books were removed). The size and content of Lecche's bequest made it an extremely important addition to Llanthony Secunda's collection. Overall,

¹⁶² Care taken to repair older books is another facet of Llanthony Secunda's fourteenth-century book-producing abilities. TF 5088 (Robert de Béthune's *vita*; s. xiii¹) - another sort of text personal to the community - has fourteenth-century additions replacing lost leaves (fos. 16-21, 36, 37). These are written in a large, regular early gothic book-hand and imitate the original leaves. Llanthony is this MS's natural repairer.

¹⁶³ Now in a private collection in Ireland. All information concerning it comes from N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries II: Abbotsford-Keele* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 190-1.

¹⁶⁴ With marginalia of s.xv/xvi.

¹⁶⁵ The names of persons buried at Llanthony Secunda, beginning with Milo, the founder; the names of Milo, earl of Gloucester, and his children, and the descent of the Bohuns to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Northampton (d. 16 Jan 1372/3); the succession of the constables of England from the Conquest to Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester (1355-97), the husband of Eleanor, the elder daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Northampton.

¹⁶⁶ Some/all of these may be by Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240).

this was a period when, perhaps not having the wherewithal to fund, or the community members to support, dramatic expansion, Llanthony Secunda focused instead on assessing and maximising its existing resources. The receipt of fifty-seven books from an external donor was a bonus.

Chapter 9

The Final Phase (c.1400-c.1538)

We now investigate the fortunes of Llanthony's book collection during the final century and a half of the priory's existence. The evidence for book acquisition during this period is slim and relates largely to the endeavours of Canon Richard Calne (supported presumably by his community). Another individual, Canon Morgan of Carmarthen, undertook some 'housekeeping' in the library. Snippets of documentary evidence also illuminate the collection during this time. Finally, we shall examine how in the late fifteenth century Llanthony responded to the arrival of printing.

I: The Acquisitions of Canon Richard Calne of Llanthony Secunda

There are only six extant fifteenth-century manuscripts of Llanthony provenance.¹ Four of these were obtained for the priory by its canon, Richard Calne, who studied at the University of Oxford in the second and third decades of the century.² Whilst at Oxford, Calne acquired (by purchase, by copying himself and by having others copy for him) nine books that subsequently reached Llanthony Secunda.³ As well as the above-mentioned four fifteenth-century books contemporary with his sojourn at Oxford, Calne gained five volumes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which are therefore also part of Llanthony's early-fifteenth-century acquisitions.⁴

Little is known of Richard Calne other than what can be gleaned about his academic career from the surviving books that he owned. He was at Oxford in

¹ LP MSS 145 (fos. i, ii, 1-137), 357, 370, 393, 396; OCCC 83.

² *BRUO*, ed. Emden, p. 340; M.B.Parkes, 'The Provision of Books', *The History of the University of Oxford II: Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. J.I. Catto and T.A.R. Evans (Oxford, 1992), pp. 407-83, pp. 423-4; S. Forde, 'The Educational Organisation of the Augustinian Canons in England and Wales, and their University Life at Oxford, 1325-1448', *History of Universities*, 13 (1994), pp. 21-60, pp. 38-9, 41-2, *passim*; Leedham-Green, 'University Libraries and Book-sellers', pp. 331-2. Calne is not linked to LP 357 or OCCC 83.

³ This range of methods resembles that used by other scholars.

⁴ The complete list of Calne's known acquisitions is: LP MSS 145 (fos. 1-137), 370, 393, 396; plus LP MSS 141 (s. xiii), 97 (s. xiii^{ex}), 111 (s. xiii^{ex}), 70 (s. xiv) and 74 (A.D. 1391). Llanthony was also bequeathed one fourteenth-century MS (LP 128) in s. xv², bringing its total known MS acquisitions in this period to 12 volumes.

1413 and still there in 1421.⁵ The books that he acquired during this time presumably entered Llanthony Secunda's collection when he returned there after completing his studies, i.e. the early 1420s.⁶ Unsurprisingly, academic texts predominate. Calne's manuscripts are identifiable by inscriptions recording his acquisition of them; these are particularly valuable as they also reveal how Calne obtained the volumes and, sometimes, the date of acquisition and the name of the scribe - information lacking for nearly all other Llanthony books.

The inscriptions in four (possibly five) of Calne's nine manuscripts note the year he acquired them, which ranges from 1413 to 1418.⁷ It is not possible to be so precise regarding when he obtained the remaining four.⁸ Calne's acquisitions presumably reflect his studies, but one should hesitate to state that they reveal the ongoing progression of those studies: his purchases may have been opportunistic since, not being from a wealthy foundation, Calne probably had to limit himself to essential texts or 'bargains'⁹ rather than having a free choice. There is, however, consistency in his acquisitions, which relate to the core of the university syllabus and chiefly comprise texts that are unlikely to have been available in Llanthony Secunda's own collections.

The provision of books for members of a religious community attending university is an interesting area. Those of Calne's anathema inscriptions that

⁵ *BRUO*, ed. Emden, p. 340. Which Oxford college he attended is unclear (the Augustinian St. Mary's College was not founded until 1435). Calne is a settlement in Wiltshire, some distance south of Gloucester. During the priorate of John Wyche of Llanthony Secunda (1408-36), in 1413, Calne appeared as the prior's proxy when the latter was summoned by the prior of St. Oswald's, who was then the visitor of the Augustinian monasteries in the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford (Langston, 'Priors', p. 110). This activity supports the evidence of his university attendance to suggest that he was a capable canon. If seeking a reason why Calne may have left university in 1421, that is the year in which Llanthony Secunda was entrusted with the keeping of Carmarthen priory (see further below): might Calne have been needed in connection with this?

⁶ Calne deposited one of his books, LP 141, in an Oxford chest in 1421: this seems to have been the end of his time there, but the fact that this MS nonetheless reached Llanthony suggests either that it was quickly redeemed or that Calne stayed slightly longer at Oxford than the evidence allows us to see.

⁷ LP 70 (purchased 1413), LP 111 (purchased 1414), LP 97 (purchased 1415), LP 370 (purchased 1418). Calne also purchased LP 74, but its inscription is erased and the date of purchase is hard to recover. James, *Catalogue*, suggests 1413.

⁸ LP 141 (probably bought as an unredeemed pledge, presumably after 1412, the date of the book's latest *cautio* not connected with Calne; pledged by Calne 1421); LP 145 (fos. 1-137) (purchase undated); LP 393 and LP 396 (Calne copied parts of these and had other parts copied for him; dates of acquisition unknown).

⁹ The latter might explain 'oddities' which are otherwise difficult to account for.

state a date of purchase indicate that he began to buy texts shortly after his presumed arrival at university. In all probability, Llanthony Secunda provided the money for this.¹⁰ The inscriptions name Llanthony Secunda, implying that the books always belonged to the priory (or, at the very least, that they were acquired on behalf of Calne's house). Calne's several purchases suggest that Llanthony devoted resources to his studies over a number of years. In addition, it was possible for a student to borrow books from his house.¹¹ Other communities are known to have provided books for their students - Worcester monk-students, for example, could take books to Gloucester College for the duration of their studies.¹² Llanthony, though, may not have had the sort of texts that Calne would have needed for his studies (except, perhaps, for some Aristotle). LP 83, however, a thirteenth-century copy of the *Historia Scholastica*, contains two mutilated *cautiones* which place it at Oxford with an un-named Llanthony canon around the time that Calne is known to have been there.¹³ The book does not contain a formal anathema inscription linking it to Calne, as do the nine manuscripts that he acquired whilst at Oxford, but an inscription naming Llanthony and the initials .ff. R.C. on an end-leaf appear to be in the same hand as the anathema inscriptions in the other books associated with Calne - which is, most naturally, the hand of Calne himself.¹⁴ As LP 83 could be listed in Llanthony's fourteenth-century library catalogue,¹⁵ Calne perhaps took it from there to Oxford. If so, Llanthony did provide him with some small bibliographic resources for his studies. Perhaps because the book already belonged to his house, Calne did not inscribe it in the same way as those that he obtained himself. The date of the *cautio* in LP 83 that mentions a Llanthony canon (1412) suggests that Calne was at Oxford a year before his earliest anathema inscription

¹⁰ Worcester sometimes provided its monk-students with a grant for buying books in Oxford (Thomson, *Worcester*, p. xxviii).

¹¹ In 1339, the guidelines by which houses were obliged to send a student to university were laid down by Pope Benedict XII and included provision for books from the student's house to be borrowed by him, provided that the most useful copies remained in the house library: Forde, 'Educational Organisation', pp. 25-6; *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. Salter, pp. 233-40.

¹² The university statutes required graduate students to have their own copies of the necessary textbooks. Thomson suggests that Gloucester College amassed a collection which outlasted the stay there of individual monks (*Worcester*, pp. xxvii-viii).

¹³ 1) *canonici lanthon*. [---] *in cista* of 1412; 2) *Caut'o* [approx. three illegible/excised words] *in cista cicestrie pro xx s' iii* [---] *o svi' K/Wolstam Ann'o' dm' m' cccc' xiiii'*. Parkes, 'Provision of Books', p. 423, does not mention this MS in relation to Calne.

¹⁴ F. 214^v.

¹⁵ A16.266/A16.490.

indicates (1413). Calne seemingly initially pawned this book before he began to obtain others, perhaps in order to fund his living costs or the acquisition of texts that he needed for his studies.¹⁶

Calne apparently began to acquire books by purchasing one, possibly two, volumes containing chiefly the work of the prolific Walter Burley (1275-after 1344).¹⁷ LP 70 is a fourteenth-century manuscript which, over 307 folios of abbreviated writing, contains many different tracts, mostly commentaries on Aristotelian works. The first eighty-four folios contain Burley's *Expositio super Artem ueterem*. Written in 1337, this is the last recension of Burley's work on the *Logica uetus*.¹⁸ There follows another of Burley's tracts on logic (the *De puritate artis logicae, tractatus longior*) and an incomplete copy of his *Quaestiones de uniuersalibus* (an alternative prologue to his commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*). The following portion of the manuscript (fos. 114^r-119^v) contains all eleven tracts that comprise Burley's *Notabilia de logicis*, one of only three known manuscripts to do so.¹⁹ Next are two philosophical writings by Burley²⁰ and a rare text, his *Summa librorum Elenchorum*.²¹ There follow Burley's *Expositio libri de motu animalium* (a commentary on the *Libri naturales*); the *De planetis et eorum uirtute*, the only other extant copy of which is found, interestingly, in LP 74, also acquired by Calne;²² Burley's *Expositio libri Posteriorum* and his *Expositio super libros Topicorum*. The volume's penultimate text is the Commentary on Aristotle's *Elenchi sophistici* by Burley's

¹⁶ A MS from Reading exemplifies the use of an older book to fund university costs. Fourteenth-century *cautiones* in a twelfth-century MS of Augustine show that it was used then as a pledge for loans from the Robury Chest at Oxford. Coates suggests that it was pledged in return for money for living expenses. These pledges indicate that Reading's student-monks received books from the abbey whilst at university (Coates, *Reading*, pp. 105-6).

¹⁷ Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1902. Burley studied at Oxford and then at Paris. There are no surviving Llanthony MSS of Burley's work apart from Calne's, nor any listed in H460.

¹⁸ Comprising, in this MS, *Expositio super librum porphirii*; *Super librum predicamentorum*; *Super liber sex principiorum*; *Super librum periarmenias*.

¹⁹ The complete collection comprises i) *De relatiuis*, ii) *De abstractis*, iii) *De diuisione entis*, iv) *De finito et infinito*, v) *De toto et parte*, vi) *De sensibus*, vii) *De duobus primis principiis*, viii) *De qualitatibus*, ix) *De tribus in toto uniuerso per se agentibus*, x) *De diuisione potentiae in actiuam et passiuam*, xi) *De diffinitione siue de modo diffiniendi*. Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 723.

²⁰ *De potentiis animae*; *De formis*.

²¹ LP 70 is one of only two copies of this text listed by Sharpe (*Handlist*, p. 714). In the other, the text is anonymous. A copy was also attested at St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

²² The text is listed as a 'doubtful' attribution by Sharpe (*ibid.*, p. 727), who also notes that it is anonymous in both copies.

contemporary, the controversial Franciscan William of Ockham (c.1285-1347).²³
The final text, in a later hand, is currently anonymous.²⁴

The incipits or explicits of most texts in this manuscript identify their author by name. Calne's inscription is on f. 305^v.²⁵ The book contains no indication of its origins, nor *cautiones* which might reveal any use at university before Calne obtained it. F. 1 bears an elaborate pictorial initial employing gold.

Calne also obtained LP 74 whilst at Oxford. Its placing here in the sequence of his acquisitions is tentative, because his inscription has been erased and the date of acquisition is consequently illegible.²⁶ However, James suggests 1413, which, if correct, would mean that Calne acquired two manuscripts containing works by Walter Burley in the same year.²⁷ Fortuitously, this manuscript bears two inscriptions showing when it was written. The completion of the eighth text is ascribed to 1390,²⁸ while following the last text is *Iste liber erat sc̃rĩptus / Anno domiñi / m̃o / .ccc̃o / . xcĩo /* (1391).²⁹ These inscriptions imply that the assembly of the book straddled at least two years and reveal that the volume was about twenty years old when it reached Calne.

Two short texts, both doubtfully attributed to Burley, begin the volume. First is a commentary on Averroes's *De substantia orbis*, found in this and only one other manuscript; in both copies it is anonymous.³⁰ Averroes's controversial status

²³ *Ibid.*, no. 2136.

²⁴ *De sensibus*(?) (unfinished?).

²⁵ *Liber monasterii siue prioratus lanthonie iux / ta gloucestriam emptus per fratrem Ricar / dum calne eiusdem loci canonicum et scolarem / anno domini milesimo quadringentesimo ter / ciodecimo et qui eum a. predicta domo absque / licencia prioris et eiusdem loci conuentus alie / nauerit anathema sit fiat [flourish] fiat [flourish] .amen. [flourish].*

²⁶ Calne's inscription in this MS is placed more prominently than usual, on the recto of the first folio. Might this have contributed towards its erasure? James (*Catalogue*) comments that it is in the usual terms, although illegible to me. *MLGB* records *emptus per...* (p. 273).

²⁷ This and LP 70 (*Catalogue*).

²⁸ *Explicit liber de sompno et vigilia / secundum magistrum Walterum de Bur / Et finitus est Anno domiñi / m̃o / .ccc̃o / . xc̃o /* (f. 174^v).

²⁹ F. 194^v.

³⁰ Sharpe considers the attribution doubtful (*Handlist*, p. 726). This hand is s. xvⁱⁿ (Robinson, *DDLL*, I, no. 52; II, pl. 68). The other copy is Oxford, Oriel College, MS 12 (fos. 115^r-119^v) (s. xv) (unknown provenance). Another copy is attested by the Leicester catalogue (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, list A20.1139q).

makes this an interesting text for Calne to have had.³¹ The second (f. 8^v) is the *De planetis et eorum uirtute*, found only once elsewhere: LP 70, also owned by Calne.³² Here, as in that manuscript, it is anonymous. The remaining eight texts in the book are, with one exception, Burley's commentaries on Aristotle's *Libri naturales*.³³ There are some indications of this book's use in a university setting.³⁴ Several 'playful' notes indicate secular or professional copying.³⁵

There is no significant overlap in the texts of this manuscript and LP 70: they complement each other, providing a range of Burley's work.³⁶ They may have been acquired around the same time: 1413.

Calne's next known purchase, the following year, was LP 111, a late-thirteenth-century manuscript which is quite an early copy of two texts on Aristotle by the Parisian theologian and student of Aquinas, Giles of Rome (1243-1316): his *Super librum de generatione et corruptione* and *Super librum de anima*. Although these texts were not newly written, the centrality of the study of Aristotle to the Oxford curriculum made them important ones for Calne to

³¹ Averroes's (1126-98) theories became known in Catholic Europe c.1230, when the danger that they posed to the Catholic faith was not initially recognised. In 1270, Aquinas published the *De Unitate Intellectus contra Averroistas*, directed against those who promoted Averroes's work. After 1277, Averroism could no longer be taught in the university of Paris, but it infiltrated again in the 1300s.

³² See above.

³³ *Expositio libri de generatione et corruptione*; *Expositio libri de motu animalium* (incomplete [a complete copy is in LP 70, fos. 144^r-147^r]); *Expositio libri de anima*; *Expositio libri de caelo et mundo*; *Expositio de longitudine et breuitate uitae*; *Expositio libri de somno et uigilia*; *Expositio libri de sensu et sensato*; *Expositio libri de memoria et reminscentia*. A copy of the *Libri naturales* themselves is recorded in H460 (A16.353). The only text in this MS that is not a commentary on the *Libri naturales* is the final one, Burley's *De potentiis animae*, a philosophical work.

³⁴ Running-titles usually supply the title of the works and the explicit often names Burley. The text is quite well marked-up for reading, articulated by enlarged script, underlining, coloured paraph-marks and initials. Despite wide margins, annotation is not copious. The text was corrected in several different ways; omitted text was supplied in the margins. Catchwords ensure that the quires were bound correctly. The first page of each quire bears a letter, running in alphabetical sequence throughout the book - added by the person collating the quires?

³⁵ F. 151^v: *Finito libro sit laus et gloria xpo* [flourish] / *Finitum librum scripsi sine manibus istum* ('I wrote that finished book without hands' - a joke). F. 174^r: *...Nomen scriptoris tu qui cognosce/re queries / L tibi sit / [with insertion mark] p/ri/mum e medium o que sit ymum*. This rhyme gives the scribe's name: 'You who seek to know the name of the scribe, may L be the first for you, e the middle, and may o be the last'. F. 184^v bears the riddling 'couplet' *Filius est natus matris sine semine patris / Quem sine matre pater genuit sine patreque mater*.

³⁶ The only texts found in both are *De potentiis animae* (LP 70 fos. 120^r-124^r; LP 74 fos. 190^r-[197]); *Expositio libri de motu animalium* (LP 70 fos. 144^r-147^r; LP 74 fos. 30^r-32^v [incomplete]); and the doubtful *De planetis et eorum uirtute* (LP 70 fos. 147^v-148^v; LP 74 f. 8^v).

possess. Their acquisition follows naturally from that of Burley's treatises on Aristotle the previous year and shows Calne enlarging his collection of Aristotelian commentaries.³⁷ Giles's books were also prescribed reading in the Augustinian schools after 1287. There is no evidence to suggest that Llanthony already possessed these texts, although it did have a copy of Aristotle's *De generacione et corrupcione*.³⁸ Inscriptions in this book can be used to reconstruct something of its earlier history. Their exact implications and chronology are uncertain, but clearly the book had belonged to a brother Henry Steukle, to St. Albans and to a master Walter de A. before coming to Calne.³⁹

Calne's second late-thirteenth-century manuscript, LP 97, contains several texts by Thomas Aquinas: *Super Metaphysica*, *De causis*, *De anima*, *De sensu et sensato* and *De memoria et reminiscencia*. Whilst Aquinas was a valuable 'school text' in his own right, this volume additionally continues the Aristotelian tenor of Calne's acquisitions.⁴⁰ At the end of the book is the inscription linking it to Calne: *liber monasterij siue prioratus lanthonie / iuxta gloucestriam emptus per ffratrem / Ricardum Calne eiusdem loci canonicum / et scolarem anno domini milesimo quadrin / gentesimo quintodecimo et qui eum absque / eiusdem loci prioris et conuentus concensu / alienauerit anathema sit [flourish] .fiat. [flourish] fiat. Amen. [flourish]*. The book's end-leaves bear part of a *cautio* and a pencil note in English: *M^d that Thos. [overlined] Barbo^r*. The last flyleaf holds an enigmatic fifteenth-century list of works which relates partly - though not

³⁷ LP 111 brought Calne a second exposition of two Aristotelian texts on which he already possessed a commentary: LP 74 contains Burley's elucidation of the *Libri de generatione et corruptione* and the *Libri de anima*, the two Aristotelian works upon which Giles comments in LP 111.

³⁸ A16.353.

³⁹ The inscription *Hunc librum pro[curauit?] ...fr. Henr [steukle?] deo et ecclesie sci Albani de licencia dⁿⁱ / Michaelis eiusdem loci abbatis quem [qui...] alienauerit* (f. 1; erased) shows that the volume was acquired for St. Albans at the time of Abbot Michael de Mentmore (1335-49). As abbot of St. Albans, he encouraged his monks to study both in the abbey and at Oxford, and is known to have bought MSS for his abbey (BRUO, ed. Emden, p. 1259). The identity of Henry Steukle is unknown. The inscription is too late to be evidence of the book's origin. F. 139^v has *Lib. ma. Walt. de A[sshe?]ton prec V. marc. id [1^d?] egimus* and *Liber fra' henr' steukle*. Preceding these pieces of writing is Calne's inscription: *liber monasterij siue prioratus lanthonie / iuxta gloucestriam emptus per fratrem / Ricardus Calne eiusdem loci canonicus et scola - / rem anno dni milesimo quadringentesimo / quartodecimo. et qui eum alienauerit .a. do - / mo predicta absque licencia eiusdem domus / prioris et conuentus anathema sit. fiat. fiat / amen [flourish]* (f. 137^v; the usual hand). LP 111 is the second MS of Llanthony provenance to be associated also with St. Albans (the other is LP 102 [s. xii/xiii]).

⁴⁰ *Super Metaphysica* is an Aristotelian commentary, as is this version of *De anima*.

wholly - to the content of the volume.⁴¹ As the list does not mention the final three Aquinas texts now in the volume, it may be doubted that these were always bound with the texts that are mentioned.⁴² The list culminates with a price, doubtless that of this book or 'lot'.

LP 97 is a neat companion for the commentaries of Giles of Rome and Walter Burley on Aristotle in Calne's manuscripts LP 111 and 74. Indeed, Calne now possessed the commentaries of all three of Aquinas, Giles and Burley on Aristotle's *De anima*;⁴³ of both Aquinas and Burley on the *De sensu et sensato*;⁴⁴ and of both Aquinas and Burley on the *De memoria et reminiscentia*.⁴⁵ Before Calne, Llanthony was not apparently especially rich in texts by either Aristotle or Aquinas;⁴⁶ Calne's manuscripts thus enhanced Llanthony Secunda's holdings.

The last book to bear evidence of when Calne acquired it is LP 370, an early-fifteenth-century volume containing the *Cowton in Sententias abbreviatus* of Richard Snettisham (d.1416), an abridgement of Robert Cowton on the *Sentences*.⁴⁷ The first sixteen folios of the volume hold Peter Partridge's *tabula* to the work.⁴⁸ There follows (f. 16^v) Calne's inscription, which occupies its own

⁴¹ The works listed do not match the book's present contents: *Thomas super Methaph. / super lib. de causis / Tabula super magistrum / [offset to left-hand side:] Incomplet' [space] Tabula super moral. greg. / Tria sunt cum parte Bernard / prec. xvls.* The inscription (which dates from a good hundred years after the book was made) reflects the MS's pre-Calne history, or perhaps its state when Calne acquired it. It lists the two main texts in this volume, to which it therefore seemingly relates, and two lost *tabulae* that could have been diagrams/summaries/charts and thus occupied little space. It is possible that this volume was part of a 'job lot' in a stationer's shop, and that this is the significance of the phrase *Tria sunt cum parte Bernard*.

⁴² It seems unlikely that a contents inscription should record *tabulae* but not three fairly substantial texts. The inscription probably pre-dates Calne's ownership of the volume, as it is unlikely that Calne would have sold on a volume containing texts so relevant to his studies, and the book ultimately came to Lambeth with the bulk of Llanthony's MSS.

⁴³ Respectively LP MSS 97 (fos. 163-212), 111 (fos. 49-137^v), 74 (fos. 33^r-109^v).

⁴⁴ Respectively LP MSS 97 (fos. 214-234) and 74 (fos. 175^r-184^v).

⁴⁵ Respectively LP MSS 97 (fos. 234-40) and 74 (fos. 185^r-189^v).

⁴⁶ H460 records Aristotle's *Metaphysica* (A16.199 = LP 55: s. xiii/xiv), *Topica* (A16.325, A16.413) and *Libri naturales* (A16.353) and two works of Aquinas: *Summa theologica* (A16.114) and *De malo* (A16.383). LP 58 (s. xiii^{ex}) contains Aquinas's *Super Quartum sententarium*.

⁴⁷ Snettisham: Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1385, records twelve further copies and two attested copies of this text. Cowton (d. post-1313) (*ibid.*, no. 1445) was a Franciscan. Cowton on the *Sentences* was a popular text: A.G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, 2 vols. in 1, (Oxford, 1892), p. 222-3. Robinson, *DDLL*, I, no. 75; II, pl. 96.

⁴⁸ Partridge (d.1451) was chancellor of Lincoln cathedral. Sharpe (*Handlist*, no. 1190) records only four copies of this text, of which LP 370 is the earliest. The others (all s. xv) are from Lincoln, Tattershall and unprovenanced.

ruled page and is in the usual, closely spaced, regular, good quality but low-grade Gothic hand: *Liber monasterii siue p\ri/oratus lanthonie iuxta gloucestriam emptus / per fratrem Ricardum Calne eiusdem loci canonicum et scolarem. anno domini / millesimo CCCC .xviij. et qui eum a predicta domo absque licencia p\ri/oris / uel conuentus eiusdem alienauerit anathema sit. fiat [flourish] fiat [flourish]. Amen [two flourishes].*⁴⁹ As usual with Calne's manuscripts, there is no title or introductory rubric to identify the text or author and, typically for a 'university' volume, the text is highly abbreviated and written in a close, cursive script, which impedes legibility. Any user would have to be a skilled Latinist therefore, especially as the text is written as a continuous block rather than in paragraphs. That it was read, however, is indicated by numbered marginal notes, in different hands. The compressed script and the numbering of the leaves within the quires (*aj, aij, aijj* etc.) and the provision of catchwords indicate manufacture in an environment of mass production.⁵⁰ The explicit includes the name *Tho\ma/s... Kom*, presumably that of the scribe.⁵¹ The manuscript is in a fifteenth-century binding of (originally) white skin over wooden boards, with two now-missing clasps.⁵²

Inscriptions in the remaining four books associated with Calne do not record precisely when he acquired them, although all show evidence of a connection with Oxford. Two were bought and two were copied by, *inter alios*, Calne himself.

The two books that Calne bought at an unspecified date during the early 1400s contain patristic texts. LP 141, Calne's oldest book, dates from the thirteenth

⁴⁹ Plate XLI. Again, this seems a slightly strange location for an *anathema* inscription: to act as a deterrent, it might be better placed at the front of the book, rather than hidden within its body. The *tabula* may once have been separate from the main book, perhaps only during manufacture, since the text proper begins (f. 19^v) at the beginning of a new quire. Even so, Calne's inscription (f. 16^v) would have been two folios away from the end of the quire containing the *tabula* - still not prominent.

⁵⁰ Perhaps where there was no guarantee that it would be bound immediately. Similar marks in other Calne MSS indicate that the books share a common environment of manufacture, even though their actual geographical origin may differ.

⁵¹ F. 181^r. Plate XLI. No further information about this individual is forthcoming.

⁵² The 'second' cover bore the class-mark, *C* (James, *Catalogue*). This does not apparently relate to Llanthony's book storage system as recorded by H460; however, the mark may not relate to Calne or to Llanthony (although the book was fairly new when Calne bought it, whether he was its first owner is unclear).

century and contains Augustine's *De Trinitate* and pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux, *Planctus Mariae*. Inscriptions reveal that the volume moved between a number of different owners and locations before reaching Calne and, finally, Llanthony. Folio 1 bears an inscription in the hand of Bishop John Grandisson of Exeter (1327-69), a celebrated patron and bibliophile: *Augustinus de trinitate* [erased:] *J. Exon. Episcopus*. Thus before it reached Oxford, the book belonged to him.⁵³ Parkes considers that it is almost certainly one of the books of theology of moderate value which, according to Grandisson's will, were to be distributed to poor scholars of theology and of Exeter College.⁵⁴ The book then contains a number of *cautiones* illustrative of its Oxford history.⁵⁵ Further *cautiones* of 1409, 1411 and 1412 are in the names of William Penbegyll and William Andrew.⁵⁶ Parkes suggests that the book came into Calne's possession as an unredeemed pledge.⁵⁷ Calne then pledged the book in the common chest of the canons at Oxford in 1421: *Caucio domini Ric' Calne canonici lanth' iux'ta Glouc' exposita in cista communi canoniorum Oxon' in festo Sci' Petri ap'l' quod dicitur cathedra / pro xiiij s' iiij d' ann'o / regni regis henric' . quinti post*

⁵³ Parkes, 'Provision of Books', p. 423, n. 80. There are a few marginalia in his hand (James, *Catalogue*).

⁵⁴ 'Provision of Books', p. 423, n. 80. This does not necessarily mean that Calne attended Exeter College, as he could have redeemed the book from a chest.

⁵⁵ On the recto of the first flyleaf, semi-erased: *cautio* [half a line erased] *disr' exposita' in cista de Turbevyl' in festo sancti / [word lined through] Georgij pro [word lined through] [erased words] [-] mio de' an'mo / [or mc'mo] CCCC'mo / qu'i'nto et habet 2° / supplemen'ta / 2° . fo. primi in textu qui plantat [last two words underlined] . 2° . Fo. 2' in textu [word lined through] os epos [last two words underlined]*. James, *Catalogue*, suggests that this is a *cautio* of William Penbegyll (for whom see below), but Parkes ('Provision of Books', p. 423) does not mention a *cautio* of this date. So much of this *cautio* is cancelled that it is extremely hard to recover its full meaning. It presumably relates to this MS, the *secundo folio* of neither of the texts in which, however, matches that given in this *cautio*. The implication may be that LP 141 was deposited in the Turville chest with other items, to which the *secundo folio* references in the *cautio* relate.

⁵⁶ The verso of the first flyleaf bears two *cautiones*. At the top (partly erased): *c. m. Willi Penbugyll et Willi Andrew* [--] *expo'a / in antiq'ua / cista uniuersi'tatis / in festo / t'ra'nslationis sci benedicti' pro xiiij s' iiij d' [everything to this point lined through in a different, paler ink, probably that of the cautio below this one] [-] [remainder of this line erased, as is writing underneath it] / Ann'o / dm m cccc'mo / nono [lined through] [different hand alters to:] vndecimo*. The date of another *cautio* of the same persons has been erased (presumably this is the 1412 one noted by Parkes). It follows below the one transcribed above, in a lighter ink and different hand: *C. M. Willi' Penbugyl et Willi' Andrew expo'a / in antiq' cista Vniuersit' in festo sancti / [erased: was another whole line of writing]*. Parkes notes that the *cautios* of 1409 and 1412 are for the Turville chest: 'Provision of Books', p. 423. Penbegyll: fellow 1399-1409 and rector of Exeter College, d. 1420 (*BRUO*, ed. Emden, p. 1455, Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 2143); Andrew: fellow of the college 1404-22 (*BRUO*, ed. Emden, p. 36).

⁵⁷ 'Provision of Books', p. 423.

conquestum octauo.⁵⁸ This pledge is apparently the latest piece of evidence for Calne's presence at Oxford. The need for the money received in return for it was presumably short-lived if Calne redeemed the volume before he left Oxford, perhaps in the same year that he had pledged it. The fact that the book ultimately reached Llanthony suggests that debt did not compel Calne to jettison it.⁵⁹ Whatever its relevance to the academic curriculum, *De Trinitate* was a fundamental text and a sound addition to the book collection of the community to which Calne returned.⁶⁰ The manuscript is relatively un-annotated for a book with an Oxford history and several scholar-owners.

The second book that Calne bought at an unspecified date whilst at Oxford is LP 145 (fos. i, ii, 1-137) (*s. xvⁱⁿ*).⁶¹ It contains pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem*.⁶² Written in double columns on a generously proportioned page, this book is larger scale than Calne's other volumes, although of plain appearance. Once again, the quires are marked in red by a combination of a letter and a Roman numeral, and by catchwords; the script is a hurried cursive; and the text begins without any indication of the title of the work or its author. Yet it is marked up to facilitate reading: each homily begins with a blue initial, its number indicated in the margin.⁶³ The generous margins bear little annotation; however neat notes indicate the content of certain passages, and it has been corrected. Calne's inscription appears at the end (f. 135^v): *Liber lanthonie iuxta Gloucestriam emptus / per fratrem Ricardum Calne tempore quo fuit / scholaris Oxonie et qui eum a predicta do / mo absque licencia prioris et conuentus / eiusdem domus alienauerit anathema / sit. fiat fiat. Amen* [flourish]. In red just above the explicit is *Lanthoni iuxta Glouc*.

⁵⁸ Plate XLI. *BRUO*, ed. Emden, p. 340, states that Calne deposited LP 141 in the common chest of the Austin canons at Oxford on 22nd February 1421. This is at variance with the *cautio*'s statement that the book was deposited on the Feast of St. Peter the Apostle (29th June; subsidiary date 1st August) and may result from confusion with the feast of St. Peter Damian (23rd February). Calne's *cautio* records the same price for the book as the *cautio* of 1409/11.

⁵⁹ Calne may have bought this MS purely for potential future use as pledge to raise money when needed. Webber and Watson (*Augustinian Canons*) identify LP 141 with A16.174, an original entry in H460, but this is unlikely since, if the book's history as evinced by the reconstruction of its inscriptions is correct, it was probably not at Llanthony when H460 was compiled.

⁶⁰ Calne's is the first extant copy of *De Trinitate* of Llanthony provenance, although A16.174 shows that the canons had an earlier copy, now lost.

⁶¹ Robinson, *DDLL*, I no. 57; II pl. 83.

⁶² H460 records this work (A16.136); Calne's is therefore Llanthony's second (known) copy.

⁶³ The ink numbering appears to be incorrect by one, as the numbers have been re-entered in pencil by a later hand.

The final two extant books owned by Calne are of particular interest for having been written partly by him at Oxford. They hold texts by authors who were lecturing around the time that Calne was there.

LP 393 (s. xvⁱⁿ; between 1412 and 1421⁶⁴) contains eight texts by five authors broadly contemporary with Calne. The first is the *Uniuersalia* of William Penbegyll (d. 1420), an Oxford scholar/teacher.⁶⁵ Llanthony is named in the text's explicit: *Expliciunt uniuersa\lia/ / liber beate mari\e/ de lanthon*'. Penbegyll's *Diuisio entis*, also uncommon, follows.⁶⁶ This cluster of Penbegyll's work concludes with his *Commentary* on Porphyry's *Isagoge*. This manuscript follows two of the three other existing copies of this text by including it in conjunction with other work by Penbegyll.⁶⁷

Next in LP 393 is a longer text by John Sharpe (d. post-1403): his *Quaestio super uniuersalia*.⁶⁸ This is followed by Robert Allington's (d. post-1395) *Literalis sententia super Praedicamenta*⁶⁹ and William Milverley's *Commentary on De Sex principiis*.⁷⁰ The book ends with two texts by another early-fifteenth-century scholar, John Tarteys of Balliol - his *Problema correspondens libello Porphyrii* and *De figuris*. Little is known about Tarteys's career. LP 393 contains the earliest copy of his *Problema correspondens libello Porphyrii* and the only known copy of the *De figuris*.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Robinson, *DDLL*, I no. 76; II pls. 84-5.

⁶⁵ Sharpe records only two other extant MSS of this text (*Handlist*, no. 2143). See above for Penbegyll's *cautiones* in Calne's MS LP 141.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* records only one other MS and one attested copy of this text. Both the *Diuisio entis* and Penbegyll's *Uniuersalia* are found in the fifteenth-century MS OCCC 103 (unprovenanced), in the same order as they appear in this MS. OCCC 103 is the only other extant copy of the *Diuisio entis*.

⁶⁷ Sharpe (*ibid.*) notes that three of the four known copies of this text follow Penbegyll's other works and in two cases there is a colophon ascribing the sequence of texts to him. The explicit of our copy is *Expl. Uniuersalia M. W. Penbegell cum solempni exposicione super librum Porphirii*.

⁶⁸ Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 884.

⁶⁹ *Explicit literalis sententia super predicamenta aristotelis per magistrum Robertum Alyngton socium collegii beate marie / oxonie de Wyntonia compilata*. Allington: Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1420.

⁷⁰ Milverley *floruit* in the early fifteenth century (*ibid.*, no. 2128).

⁷¹ Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 924.

Calne's inscription (f. 243^v) reveals how he obtained this volume: *Liber monasterii siue p\ri/oratus lanthonie iuxta / Gloucestriam quem partim sc\ri/psit et partim sc\ri/bi / fecit Frater Ricardus Calne eiusdem loci ca / nonicus tempore quo fuit scolaris Oxonie et q\ui/ / eum a predicta domo absque licencia prioris et / conuentus eiusdem alienauerit Anathema / sit. fiat. fiat Amen. [flourish]*. Calne therefore 'commissioned' the volume and presumably directed or oversaw its manufacture. In contrast to the manuscripts considered above, this, therefore, was a book over whose features he had some control. LP 393 is relatively small, with pages of 225 x 150mm. It was densely written by between two and four hands using cursive and lower-grade scripts. Articulation is by plain red initials, rubricated letters, red paraph-marks and red underlining. Whereas texts and authors usually remain anonymous in Calne's books, here running-titles state the author's name and/or the work's title, or the author is named in the explicit. The text has been corrected; marginal lettering and numbering aid articulation and explicits are rubricated to the same effect; marginal notes, in a hand and ink similar to the text, are often outlined in red. Scholarly interest is suggested by the citation of quite modern authorities in the margin, including *Och\am*, *Burley* and *Wycliff*.⁷²

The second volume that Calne 'commissioned' is LP 396.⁷³ Also dating from Calne's time at Oxford, it contains John Sharpe's *quaestiones* on several of the *libri naturales*, to which is prefixed an alphabetical table. The first full text is Sharpe's *quaestiones* on Aristotle's *Physica*; Sharpe's *quaestiones* on Aristotle's *De anima* are on fos. 136^r-179^r;⁷⁴ the book concludes with as-yet-unidentified *quaestiones* on the *libros de Meteoris*. The volume's content therefore relates to that of LP 393 and, more widely, to the scholastic debate on the nature of the soul.⁷⁵

⁷² Fos. 2^r; 47^{r-v}. Calne owned works by the first two; Wycliff was a controversial figure by this time.

⁷³ Robinson, *DDLL*, I, no. 77; II, pl. 86.

⁷⁴ They continue Calne's interest in the exposition of this text: he also had the commentaries of Aquinas, Giles of Rome and Walter Burley on *De anima*.

⁷⁵ The debate was between the Augustinian view, which regarded the soul as of God and the body as of the Devil, and the view, based on Aristotle and developed by Albert Magnus and Aquinas, that the soul and body were linked, even though they have different aspects. See A.C. Pegis, *St. Thomas and the Problem of the Soul in the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto, 1934); R.C. Dales, *The Problem of the Rational Soul in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1995).

Like LP 393, LP 396 was prepared with the needs of the user in mind. It is generously articulated, employing red and blue initials with red pen-flourishing, plain red initials, red and blue paraph-marks and rubricated letters; rubrics and running-titles supply the number of the *questiones* and its alphabetical tables/indexes would have facilitated the location of a particular subject. Detracting from such aids is that, once again, the texts lack identifying titles or rubrics. All three scribes write small cursive hands. Corrections show concern for the accuracy of the text.⁷⁶ Scholarly interest in the third text in particular is suggested by marginal diagrams that were supplied there.⁷⁷

This volume is thrice identified as Calne's - at the end of each text. Following the explicit of the first is *Frater Ricardus Calne canonicus / lanth iuxta Glouc'*. This is neatly inscribed, probably by the hand of the first text.⁷⁸ At the end of the second text is Calne's full inscription, again neatly set out in regular lines: *Liber monasterii siue p\ri/oratus lanthonie iuxta Glou / cestriam que' partim sc\ri/psit et partim sc\ri/bi fecit Frater / Ricardus Calne eiusdem loci canonicus tempore quo fuit / scholaris Oxonie. Et qui eum a predicta domo absque licencia / p\ri/oris et conuentus eiusdem alienauerit anathema sit. fiat / fiat. Amen. (f. 179^v). On the last page of the third text (f. 276^v) is Calne's third inscription, which almost exactly reprises the terms of the second.⁷⁹ The two longer Calne inscriptions appear to be by the same hand.⁸⁰*

As the originally blank folios following each text in LP 396 were not used for the start of the subsequent texts (which commence instead at the start of a new quire), each text could have been written independently of the others and

⁷⁶ E.g. omitted text has been supplied at the bottom of f. 32^r.

⁷⁷ E.g. fos. 254^r, 255^v-256^r, 257^v, 260^r, 263^r.

⁷⁸ F. 130^v. This explicit might explain Calne's interest in these *quaestiones*: *et in hoc finiuntur questiones aliquae super libros phisicorum superficialiter collecte modo quo in scholis filosoficis oxonie disputari consueuerant*.

⁷⁹ *liber monasterii siue p\ri/oratus lanthonie iuxta Gloucest\ri/am / que' partim sc\ri/psit et partim sc\ri/bi fecit frater Ricardus Calne / eiusdem loci canonicus et scholaris. et qui eum a predicta domo / absque licencia p\ri/oris et comuentus eiusdem alienauerit . ana [hyphen] / thema sit fiat. fiat. amen.* The only difference between the two is that the second lacks the phrase specifying that Calne was a student at Oxford.

⁸⁰ By contrast, LP 393 bears Calne's inscription only at the end of the book - might this, in conjunction with the fact that the texts in LP 393 are more integrated than in LP 396, imply that this book was bound together sooner after production than LP 396?

therefore simultaneously.⁸¹ Three scribes seem to have worked on these four texts, with the first three texts in three different hands, making this proposition feasible.⁸² The employment of three different scribes (one of whom was Calne himself) must have quickened production of the volume. The presence of Calne's identifying inscription at the end of each text might be because the items were originally, or for a time after manufacture, separate *libelli*, perhaps whilst waiting for all to be completed.⁸³ Were this so, however, the different parts of the book were always intended to form a whole, since their overall layout is consistent.⁸⁴

LP 393 and 396 appear to be partner volumes. They are the same size - slightly smaller than Calne's other manuscripts - and are allied in content. The written area of the pages is roughly the same, as is the number of pages and method of articulation.

Since the identically-worded anathema inscriptions in both books state that Calne himself was one of the scribes, it should be possible, if they share only one hand, to propose this as his. Conveniently, the volumes do seem to have only one hand in common. The clearest similarity is between the hand of the fourth text in LP 393 (fos. 30^v-68^v [69^v], John Sharpe's *Quaestio super uniuersalia*) and that of the second text of LP 396 (fos. 16^r-130^v, again Sharpe, *Quaestiones* on Aristotle's *Physica*). As the hand of the second text in LP 396 was probably also responsible for the first (and lesser) portion of the fourth text in that volume (fos. 180^r-199^v, *quaestiones* on the *libros de Meteoris*), Calne may also have begun to

⁸¹ With the exception of the final one, which seems to share scribes with the second and third texts.

⁸² The table (fos. 1-14) is by Hand 1. Hand 2 wrote the second text (fos. 16^r-130^v) and Hand 3 the third (fos. 136^r-179^v). The final text (fos. 180^r-276^v) was probably written by Hands 2 and 3. Fos. 180^r-199^v are very similar to Hand 2. On f. 199^v, there is a clear change of hand halfway down the page. This hand seems to continue until the end of the book and is most probably identical to Hand 3. It shares with this a distinctive form of *v*, with the lead-in stroke curving below the ruled line.

⁸³ It might also suggest manufacture and use, before combination, in an environment where other copies of the same text, with which these might be confused, were present.

⁸⁴ By contrast, the scribes of LP 393 would have had to collaborate more closely because not all of its texts begin at the start of a new quire. The use of several scribes would not, therefore, have speeded production as much as it might have done for LP 396.

copy that before passing the task to a collaborator.⁸⁵ A quick calculation reveals that Calne wrote less than one fifth of LP 393,⁸⁶ but that his scribal contribution to LP 396 was much greater, amounting to just under half of the book.⁸⁷ Calne's proposed scribal stints in LP 393 and 396 focus entirely on two authors: John Sharpe (in both books) and perhaps also John Tarteys.

The evidence of his manuscripts shows that Calne was a competent scribe. He is the only obvious scribe of the personally-worded anathema inscriptions in his books, employing for these a formal hand rather than the cursive hand he used for his stints in LP 393 and LP 396. It is hard to spot features shared by Calne's formal and informal writing: they are divergent because of their different grades.

In sum, Calne deployed several methods to obtain books whilst at Oxford. He took advantage of an environment with a book market to purchase manuscripts second-hand and to acquire an unredeemed pledge. Since the five⁸⁸ books whose acquisition by Calne can be dated were all purchases, we might wonder where the two volumes that Calne partly copied himself fit in. Was self-copying a response to insufficient money to buy more books? Although perhaps cheaper, it still entailed financial outlay - for materials, for the hire of scribes and perhaps also of the exemplar. Calne would have reduced scribal costs by copying parts of LP 393 and 396 himself, although the theory that his self-copying was a response to impecuniousness would carry more weight had he copied the entirety of these two volumes himself, thereby cutting costs to the minimum.⁸⁹ It was

⁸⁵ There is also some likeness between the hand of the seventh (fos. 184^r [215^r]-239^r [270^r]) and eighth (fos. 239^v [270^v]-243^v [274^v]) texts of LP 393 and 'Calne's' hand, thus he may also have been responsible for copying these (both John Tarteys).

⁸⁶ Excluding from the calculation the seventh and eighth texts.

⁸⁷ Neither book seems to have numerous scribes. In LP 393, Hand 1 wrote the first three texts and probably also the fifth and sixth; Hand 2 (Calne) wrote the fourth and also perhaps the seventh and eighth. In LP 396, Hand 1 wrote fos. 1-14; Hand 2 (Calne) wrote the second text, Hand 3 the third, and Hands 2 and 3 seem to have written the fourth text between them.

⁸⁸ Including LP 74 - Calne's inscription is erased, but appears to record 1413 and purchase.

⁸⁹ The identity of the other scribes of LP 393 and 396 is unknown. Were they other Llanthony men, we might expect that to be stated. Were they fellow students, their actions seem altruistic, and there is no evidence that Calne lent these volumes to others, perhaps in acknowledgement of such help. However, students often copied texts for themselves and for others for a fee, whilst resident scribes copied texts on commission (Leedham-Green, 'University Libraries and Book-Sellers', pp. 329-30). *Fecit scribere* in these MSS' *ex dono* implies a 'commission' and a formal relationship with their scribes. Whoever they were, therefore, Calne probably did incur scribal costs for these MSS.

perhaps rather the newness of the texts in LP 393 and 396 that caused Calne to deploy a mixture of self-copying and commissioning to obtain them. The authors represented in these manuscripts were broadly contemporary with Calne himself and may still have been teaching when he was at Oxford. There may not, therefore, have been an abundance of copies of their work available on the second-hand market or through the chest system, making self-copying and commissioning the most viable options. Calne had perhaps acquired a rare or sought-after exemplar: sharing the copying between himself and others would have hastened the business of transcribing it.

A Worcester monk, John of St. Germans, who acquired books whilst at university may be compared with Calne. St. Germans predates Calne by about a century and seemingly had a more distinguished academic career.⁹⁰ Like Calne, he owned books, contributed to the writing of some and annotated others.⁹¹

St. Germans's methods of obtaining books resemble Calne's. He was also a scribe, one of a 'consortium' of Worcester monks which wrote WCL F.56. St. Germans here benefited from belonging to a large and academically-minded community, with valuable contacts, networks, and 'colleagues'.⁹² The collaboration of Worcester monks on F.56 probably nullified scribal costs, whereas whilst Calne executed some work himself, he probably still had to pay for the services of other scribes.⁹³ St. Germans also purchased books.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ St. Germans was a student at Oxford by 1295 and monk of Worcester by 1298. In 1308, he lectured in theology at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, whence to the University of Paris in 1310. In 1317/1320, he was requested to return to St. Augustine's, but the details of his subsequent career are unknown (Thomson, *Worcester*, p. xxvi; J. Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury c.1066-1540* [Oxford, 1997], pp. 869-70). Worcester monks came from a community and order with a strong tradition of university attendance, giving them an institutional framework and support for study that Calne probably lacked: Worcester supported two monks annually at Oxford virtually continuously from the 1290s until the Dissolution (Thomson, *Worcester*, pp. xxv-xxvi).

⁹¹ Owned: WCL MSS F.4, F.8, F.149, Q.20. Wrote: F.56, Q.59, F.69, Q.64, Q.99. Annotated F.16, F.107, Q.57, F.157, F.169, Q.12, Q.23, Q.53.

⁹² He was one of a small circle of scholarly monks at Worcester, others of whom were also active book-users (Thomson, *Worcester*, pp. xxvi-vii).

⁹³ This does not exclude the possibility of contacts and collaboration between Calne and Augustinian scholar-canons from elsewhere.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

Of the seventeen books linked to St. Germans, those in which he has left his mark are roughly contemporary with his sojourns at Oxford and Worcester. The books that he was involved in writing are, naturally, contemporary with him, but so too are those he annotated. By contrast, Calne acquired some manuscripts which greatly pre-dated his time at Oxford. St. Germans probably had greater financial resources with which to purchase new books.⁹⁵

St. Germans owned four books - half as many as Calne.⁹⁶ Some may reflect his university studies. The texts which St. Germans was involved in copying are modern; they include WCL Q.99, which contains reports of disputations at the Universities of Oxford (1298-1302) and Paris (c.1310-11) and is comparable to Calne's books LP 393 and 396, which also contain work by scholars contemporary with his Oxford sojourn. Calne and St. Germans played a similar role here, recording the opinions of contemporary masters which were subsequently conveyed back to their communities. Perhaps like Calne, St. Germans may have found copying new texts himself the quickest way to acquire them. University-related texts are also contained in those manuscripts that St. Germans annotated; however, such volumes lean more towards sermons.⁹⁷ Worcester, of course, is renowned for the survival of preaching materials. Although St. Germans apparently encountered a wider mixture of texts than Calne, and notwithstanding the differences in their financial and scholarly backgrounds, the evidence relating to St. Germans suggests that Calne's books and his methods of obtaining them are in line with those of other religious scholars.

The significance to the Llanthornies of Calne's books becomes clearer when we recall that only three extant manuscripts known to have been acquired during the 1400s are not connected to him.⁹⁸ A copy of John Monachus's (c.1250-1313) gloss on the *Decretals* and *Sext* was bequeathed by one Master Nicholas

⁹⁵ Cf. WCL F.8.

⁹⁶ Perhaps he was not compelled to buy as many books as Calne, instead being able to 'swap' volumes with other Worcester monks and borrow some from his house.

⁹⁷ Cf. WCL F.16; Q.57; F.157; Q.12; Q.53.

⁹⁸ Although in addition to these, one Richard Day, rector of Werhorn (Wereham[?], Norfolk), bequeathed books to Llanthony in 1424 (Langston, 'Priors', p. 75).

Kaerwent.⁹⁹ This well-connected Oxford-educated bachelor of civil law and priest died in April 1467. No link between him and Llanthony is apparent, although he held a number of ecclesiastical appointments in the west country - he was, for example, a canon of Salisbury, Hereford and Wells and rector of Shipton Moyne, a village south of Gloucester.¹⁰⁰ His example shows that even small donations extended the scope of Llanthony's holdings. LP 357, meanwhile, contains the Office of St. Kenan, the patron saint of Llanthony's Irish cell of Duleek.¹⁰¹ The book begins with the *Parvum Iob siue Libellus in nouem lectiones mortuorum* of Richard Rolle (d.1349), followed by *cronica cuiusdam amici veritatis in argumentum fundacionis canonicorum Regularium S. Augustini doctoris...*. It also holds the only independent copy of the *Ars praedicandi* of the Dominican Hugh of Snaith (d. post-1290).¹⁰² Works of Hugh of S.-Victor and Bernard of Clairvaux,¹⁰³ two texts entitled *De validis mendicantibus*, an *encomial/testimonia* to St. Augustine and the Canterbury monk Nigel Witeker's (d. post-1206) *Speculum stultorum*¹⁰⁴ occupy the remainder. On f. 111^r is inscribed, in a late medieval hand, *Joh' Batte*, perhaps the individual of that name recorded as kitchener and sub-prior of Llanthony Secunda in the later 1400s.¹⁰⁵ With its combination of liturgical and theological material, for use in a regular or pastoral environment, this useful volume may have accompanied a Llanthony proctor/representative to Ireland (whether John Batte travelled there is unknown) or resided there, as some marginalia may concern Irish ecclesiastical affairs.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ LP 128 (s. xiv). F. i^b: *Istum librum magister Nicholaus Kaerwent legauit/ ecclesie beate marie [disappears into binding] / lanthon' iuxta Glouc'. cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen'*. Plate XLIII.

¹⁰⁰ BRUO, ed. Emden, p. 353.

¹⁰¹ This Office is the same as that in the s. xiv/xv Llanthony MS Lansdowne 387 (a *lectionarium* holding the lives of Sts. Kyneburg and Kenan) (James, *Catalogue*).

¹⁰² The verses from which appear also on the flyleaf of Oxford, Magdalen College MS lat. 167 (s. xiv; unprovenanced). A copy is attested at Syon (Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 529).

¹⁰³ Hugh: *De laude caritatis*; *De vii viciis*; *Quot modis impugnatur humilitas*. Bernard: *Meditaciones de lamentacione marie et passione filii sui*.

¹⁰⁴ Sharpe, *Handlist*, no 1128. This copy is incomplete (James, *Catalogue*).

¹⁰⁵ *Calendar*, ed. Rhodes, nos. 3 (1457 AD), 103 (1476 AD).

¹⁰⁶ Ker's (MLGB) attribution of the volume to Llanthony is cautious, but the combination of the Office of St. Kenan and John Batte's inscription strongly suggests a Llanthony Secunda/Duleek provenance.

Finally, one fifteenth-century manuscript, holding Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, can be linked to Llanthony Prima.¹⁰⁷ Inscriptions on its final pages suggest that its scribe was William Amourley, a canon of that house, writing perhaps in 1463.¹⁰⁸ An *ex libris* names simply *Lanthonie* and a contemporary marginal reference to St. Kyneburg may suggest a connection with Llanthony Secunda also.¹⁰⁹ Pre-dating the 1481 re-unification of the Llanthonies, this manuscript is rare evidence for book-holding and, perhaps, production at the Welsh house during its later years.¹¹⁰

Richard Calne was not the only Llanthony man to attend university: other Llanthony canons did so in the later 1400s. If these later men acquired books whilst studying, none is identifiable (the putative volumes in question may not, of course, have ended up at Llanthony). Llanthony's final phase of book acquisition therefore seems to have been largely the work of one man. If Calne's books are a microcosm of university life, they also illustrate the extent to which the activities and interests of one member of a community could affect the holdings of its library. Llanthony seemingly did not build on Calne's collection by acquiring more texts by contemporary authors or that reflected current theological or philosophical debates. Thus, with the exception of two printed books (considered below), his manuscripts are the culmination of three hundred years of book collecting by our priories.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ OCCC 83.

¹⁰⁸ F. 182^v: *Hic liber est scriptus qui scripsit sit benedictus / Sed cum lectore non est benedictus in ore... / Amourley sic scriptus in regno florido dei / Cognomine dictus reddet magnalia ei / Quod dompmus Willelmus Amourley canonicus lanthonie prime / Nomen. scriptoris. amourley...anno domini millesimo cccc.lx.ij)o/. Amourley also wrote his name in a twelfth-century Llanthony book, LP 380 (fos. 1-120), giving that volume (and, by association, LP 356 [fos. 125-75], with which it was formerly bound) a fifteenth-century Llanthony Prima provenance (f. 114^v: *Hic liber est scriptus qui composuit sit benedictus. quod Amou\er/ley*).*

¹⁰⁹ F. 109^f.

¹¹⁰ Before OCCC 83, the most recent book known to have been connected to Llanthony Prima dates from s. xiii-xiv (LP 200 [fos. 114-63]).

¹¹¹ Evidence from Worcester suggests that Llanthony was not typical in registering such a downturn in MS activity from s. xv^{2/4} – after a recession in the level of scholarly pursuits following the Black Death, the MS evidence from this nearby foundation suggests a burst of activity around s. xv^{med}, when several of its monks studied at Oxford and owned books (Thomson, *Worcester*, pp. xxviii-xxix).

II: The Activities of Morgan of Carmarthen

Following Calne, an intriguing and enigmatic individual furnishes evidence for activity touching Llanthony's book collection: Canon Morgan of Carmarthen, who wrote his name in, and listed the contents of, thirty-six extant Llanthony manuscripts.¹¹² These inscriptions are our only knowledge of this figure: there are no dates firmer than 'fifteenth century' for Morgan's life or his presence at Llanthony.¹¹³

Morgan's access to Llanthony Secunda's books seemingly transpired because, on 28th April 1421, Henry V committed the keeping of the Augustinian priory of Carmarthen (*Kermerdinia*) to the prior of Llanthony Secunda and to one John Russell for two years.¹¹⁴ Due to the improvident governance of the late prior, Carmarthen was burdened by annuities, pensions and corrodies, and debts; its goods wasted and many of its manors alienated. Consequently, the convent was disturbed, divine worship withdrawn, and the dispersal of the canons feared. The king ordered that all income, beyond the necessary maintenance of the convent and its servants, be applied to the priory's relief and the payment of its debts. If the 'protectorate' did last for just these two years, Morgan's activities might be dated fairly closely to the early 1420s, although it is possible that he was at Llanthony before or after the guardianship. As Carmarthen and Llanthony Secunda are not geographically close, a pre-existing link between them, perhaps informal, may have brought about this formal protectorship.¹¹⁵ It seems likely

¹¹² This number supersedes that listed under 'Morgan' in the index to James, *Catalogue* and by Ker, *MLGB*, p. 108, note 5 and in his 'Donors' index.

¹¹³ The most straightforward interpretation of Morgan's signature (*Morganus canonicus de Kermerd*) is that he was a member of Carmarthen priory, but it could also mean that he was simply from Carmarthen.

¹¹⁴ Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p. 146; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the P.R.O.: Henry V*, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte, 2 vols (London, 1911), II, p. 338 for what follows. The identity of John Russell is unclear, though a possible candidate of that name (d.1437) was a Herefordshire landowner, JP, MP, thrice the abbot of Gloucester's parliamentary proxy and twice Speaker of the Commons (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, 60 vols., [Oxford, 2004], XLVIII, p. 275).

¹¹⁵ *MRH* (pp. 152-5) speculates that Carmarthen was established from Llanthony Prima, a link that might explain the later protectorship. Previous relations between Carmarthen and Llanthony Secunda were not always amicable: in 1208, a group of canons from Llanthony Secunda attempted to oust its prior, Cadifor, but he was supported by King John and the bishop of St. David's: Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp. 44-5; *Episcopal Acts Relating to the Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272* ed. J. Conway Davies, 2 vols., (Cardiff, 1946-8), I, p. 334. Prior Nicholas of Llanthony Prima is mentioned in the Carmarthen cartulary in 1289 (*HRH II*, p. 413). It is also interesting that one John of Chaundos/Chaudoys is recorded as a canon of Carmarthen 1324-

that Carmarthen's canons would have remained at their priory during the custody, with their community's affairs (financial and spiritual) run by Llanthony Secunda.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, the evidence suggests that Morgan was at Llanthony Secunda when he inscribed its books - the custodianship may therefore have occasioned the presence of some Carmarthen canons at Llanthony.¹¹⁷ Seemingly quite stable in the early fifteenth century, with a long-serving prior, John Wyche (1408-36), Llanthony Secunda was evidently judged to be in a fit state to help Carmarthen.

Carmarthen priory came into being around the same time as Llanthony Prima, and certainly existed as an independent community before the death of Henry I (1135).¹¹⁸ In the later thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries, Carmarthen's priors were frequently employed as royal agents; this made the priory, which lay outside the protection of the walled town, a target for attack by the Welsh in times of war. Indeed, it was destroyed by the Welsh at some point between 1257 and 1265.¹¹⁹ *Circa* 1291, Carmarthen was valued at £29 16s 2d, in comparison to Llanthony Prima's £233 7s 0d.¹²⁰ During the fourteenth century, various priors seemingly tried to consolidate Carmarthen's resources.¹²¹ Financial regulations following a 1401 episcopal visitation indicate that Carmarthen then had an annual income of £170-200, perhaps more.¹²² Bishop Guy de Mone's episcopal visitation to Carmarthen in 1401 also revealed something of its literary resources and the circumstances which Morgan of Carmarthen may have experienced were he there then. The community's Bible was on loan, whilst the

1332 (*HRH II*, pp. 360-1), almost immediately following the tenure of Llanthony Secunda's prior of the same name (1300-?c.1322).

¹¹⁶ Not only does the transfer of all of the Carmarthen canons to Llanthony Secunda seem logistically unfeasible, canons would have been required at Carmarthen to undertake the work necessary to return the priory to self-government.

¹¹⁷ The fact that Morgan surnames himself 'of Carmarthen' suggests that he was not there at the time of writing, but rather in an environment in which being from Carmarthen was distinctive. In addition, thirty-six precious volumes seems too many for Llanthony Secunda to have sent to Carmarthen across Welsh territory to a community that history had proved was not secure. Such an action would also have deprived Llanthony's canons themselves of books.

¹¹⁸ *Circa* 1110, Henry I granted St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, to Battle Abbey and a dependent priory was established. Through the efforts of Bishop Bernard of St. David's (1115-48), independence was eventually gained (Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp. 32-3).

¹¹⁹ Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p. 213.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, Appendix III (p. 275).

¹²¹ Carmarthen owed much of its comparative prosperity at the Dissolution to the efforts of fourteenth-century priors (*ibid.*, pp. 264-5).

¹²² Carmarthen had attained by this date the income it enjoyed at the Dissolution.

decrees, decretals and books of Clement VI and the *casus* of Bernard, 'which deserve to be called the treasures of the house', were at Oxford.¹²³ Carmarthen may have been depleted of books through continuous financial difficulties during the first half of the 1400s.¹²⁴ Alternatively, it may never have owned many. A single volume is all that can now be attributed to it.¹²⁵

To someone from such an environment who was interested in books, Llanthony Secunda's collection must have appeared magnificent. A survey of the Llanthony manuscripts which bear Morgan's inscriptions reveals that they date almost exclusively from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Just under two-thirds date from c.1200 or before.¹²⁶ Whilst this selection of manuscripts may simply reflect the fact that the majority of Llanthony Secunda's manuscripts date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it also means that a certain type of book predominates. A number of authors are included; none features overwhelmingly.¹²⁷ The Fathers John Cassian, Gregory the Great, Augustine and Ambrose are all represented, and the list continues through Vigilius Thapsensis, Isidore, Bede, Alcuin, Hugh of S.-Victor, Ailred of Rievaulx, Bernard of Clairvaux and Geoffrey Babio to William Peraldus. The only glossed biblical books are Luke, Matthew and Isaiah. There are also sermons, *concordantiae* and *distinctiones*. Theology dominates the list, but law is not wholly neglected.¹²⁸

¹²³ Implying that canons past or present were students there. *Ibid.*, p. 146; *The Episcopal Registers of St. David's, 1397-1518*, ed. R.F. Isaacson, 3 vols. (1917-20), I, p. 243.

¹²⁴ Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p. 146.

¹²⁵ *MLGB/Suppl.*: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 1, the 'Black Book of Carmarthen' (s. xiii^{med}). This book, which contains the earliest Welsh poetry to be committed to writing, suggests that Carmarthen once had a literary tradition. In 1208, Carmarthen was ruled by the Welsh prior Cadifor and had been under Welsh control for some time. After this time, from 1246 certainly, the priory was predominantly Anglo-Norman in sympathies and personnel until well into the fourteenth century (Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp. 156-7). The Black Book's date of s. xiii^{med} would place it just within the period of Welsh ascendancy at Carmarthen. See A.O.H. Jarman, 'Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 71 (1985), D. Huws, *Five Ancient Books of Wales* (Cambridge, 1996). The example of Carmarthen further illustrates the paucity of books surviving from medieval Wales and reminds us of the absence of material in the Welsh language surviving from Llanthony (Prima).

¹²⁶ s. ix: LP 377; s. xiiⁱⁿ: LP 365 (fos. 1-119); s. xii: Royal 2 C.x, LP 101, LP 148, LP 195, LP 208, LP 215, LP 218 (fos. 1-88), LP 231, LP 345 (fos. 98-227), LP 397, LP 431 (fos. i, 1-7, 16-88), LP 452, Bodley 839, OTC 39; s. xii^{ex}: LP 138 (fos. 1-44), LP 449; s. xii^{ex}-xiiiⁱⁿ: OCCC 43; s. xii-xiii: LP 360 (fos. 1-118), LP 378 (fos. 1-56, 122-64); c. 1200: CCCC 390, LP 425 (fos. i, 1-21); s. xiiiⁱⁿ: LP 165 (fos. 102-90), LP 227; s. xiii: LP 80 (fos. 168-244), LP 153 (fos. 156-79), LP 394, LP 398, LP 481, Hatton 49, OCCC 33; s. xiii^{ex}: LP 30, LP 390; s. xiii^{ex}-xiv: LP 409; s. xiii-xiv: LP 200 (fos. 114-63).

¹²⁷ For a full list, see appendix 4.

¹²⁸ LP 30 (*Decretales nove*); LP 394 (Innocent III); LP 449 (Gratian).

There are representatives of medicine, grammar, hagiography and classical scholarship.¹²⁹ The texts in which Morgan was apparently interested, therefore, are the sort that might have formed the core of a religious community's library in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries - indeed, are those which probably did form the core of Llanthony Secunda's library. However, when viewed from the perspective of the early fifteenth century, this group of books is very conservative. Although Llanthony Secunda may not have had the most *avant-garde* collection, H460 shows that it certainly had a good many more recent texts than those which Morgan selected, particularly in the fields of both civil and canon law.¹³⁰ Additionally, there should have been the modern works recently acquired by Richard Calne.

Most of Morgan's inscriptions are found on the first folio or flyleaf of a book or portion thereof.¹³¹ His signature sometimes survives; more often it has been erased. In addition to the thirty-six Llanthony books whose contents Morgan enumerated, two bear signs of his deeper engagement with their text. Two of Llanthony's twelfth-century *Moralia* manuscripts, LP 56 and OTC 40, contain running-headings in his hand. This indicates that Morgan was well acquainted with this lengthy and complicated text and is a clue to his personal interests. These seem to be the only extant volumes in which Morgan undertook such a task: perhaps he had a particular interest in the *Moralia*, but he was also acting within a tradition whereby later annotators clarified its text by adding such aids.¹³²

Morgan's inscriptions yield valuable information to the historian of Llanthony's books. Most obviously, they provide or supplement evidence for Llanthony provenance.¹³³ LP 218 (fos. 1-89) may have been on loan from Llanthony

¹²⁹ Priscian; Gerald of Wales, *Vita Gaufridi*; Seneca; Cicero.

¹³⁰ Not to mention the significant donation of legal texts by John Lecche little more than half a century earlier.

¹³¹ Plates VII and XLII.

¹³² Ker, '*Moralia*', p. 82. It is interesting that neither of these manuscripts contains Morgan's signature or contents-list, although the third twelfth-century Llanthony *Moralia* MS, OTC 39, does.

¹³³ For example, Morgan's inscription is the only evidence linking Bodley 839 and LP 138 to Llanthony. For LP 365 (fos. 1-119) and LP 452, it is one of a series of pieces of evidence linking the book to Llanthony at different points during the priory's existence.

Secunda when H460 was checked late in the 1300s but, if so, Morgan's annotation therein shows that it had been returned. Equally, Morgan's annotations are evidence that books associated with Llanthony Prima were at Secunda when he was. LP MSS 431 (fos. 1-7, 16-88) and 425 (fos. 1-21) (formerly one volume) and LP 200 (fos. 114-63) contain inscriptions linking them to Llanthony Prima, yet Morgan's notes demonstrate that in the early fifteenth century, before the Llanthonies were reunited, they had reached Llanthony Secunda.

Although Morgan's activity seems to have touched only a fairly small proportion of Llanthony's collection, it nonetheless reveals important information about the content and form of the priory's books. His content inscriptions show that some items present in these manuscripts in the fifteenth century are now missing.¹³⁴ They also demonstrate that the format of several volumes has changed since the fifteenth century.¹³⁵ Morgan's content-lists are usually fairly accurate guides to the texts in a volume. He does not always record every text in multi-item volumes but, when comparison is possible, his lists are often fuller than entries in H460.¹³⁶ Some entries are vague¹³⁷ and some descriptive. He sometimes

¹³⁴ LP 153 (fos. 156-79): *In ist' vol' conti'ur/ lucas glosatus. [flourish] / Itm' diu'si sermones cu' aliis etc'. [flourish]* - Luke glossed only remains. LP 449: *In hoc vol' continet' concordia discordancium canonum. [flourish] / Item de causis. / Item de origine iuris canonici et de vij gener'alibus causis contr'alrietatum [?] in canonibus / emergencium [flourish] / Item de registro gregori pap'e/* - the last is now missing.

¹³⁵ For example, Morgan's list in LP 378 demonstrates that two parts of this MS (fos. 1-56 [Alcuin etc.] and fos. 122-64 [Ps-Hegesippus]), of different twelfth-century dates, were together by the fifteenth century and is a much fuller description than that in H460 (A16.387) which mentions only Alcuin. The same is true of the two portions of LP 397: *In hoc vol' continet' lib'. Eilredi abbatis / dictu speculu' caritatis / It' t'ra/ctatus dni' hugonis de stitucone' nouiciorum / Itm' t'ra/ctatus eiusdem de orone' [flourish]* (with amendments by Sancroft) demonstrates their pre-Reformation combination, which was presumably the 'housekeeping' work of the Llanthony community. The comparison of Morgan's with Sancroft's contents lists in LP 365 (fos. 1-119) shows that when Morgan wrote, this portion (Augustine, *Confessiones*) was bound with what are now LP 392 (fos. 116-31) (*De significationibus rerum*) and LP 431 (fos. 161-82) (Gregory, Bernard of Clairvaux, Anselm). Sancroft's contents, however, record LP 365 (fos. 1-119) bound with LP 365 (fos. 120-228), the book's present-day format.

¹³⁶ E.g. Morgan's contents list in LP 398 (*In isto vol' cont' sermones valde vtilis / Item summa mag'r W. de montibus / Item t'ra/ctatus mag'r Willm' mesel de .vij. artibus / Item summa Raymundi / Item significati'o/nes diuersorum verborum prout intelligent'ur/ in sac'ra/ scri'ptura sec' ord' alphabe'ti/ / Item nota/bilia et sermones cum alijs interpretacionibus sec' ord' alphabe'ti/ / Item concordancie.*) is a fairly accurate summary of a book which contains several works (e.g. *Sermones*; Richard of Wetheringsett, *Summa Qui bene praesunt*; *Gesta Pilati & Descensus ad inferos*; R. Maurus, *Allegoriae*; *Concordantiae*; Raymond of Penafort, *Summa de paenitentia*; William Mesel, *De septem artibus*), although Morgan has mistaken Wetheringsett for William de Montibus (the item is incorrectly attributed to the latter in the MS). By comparison, H460's entry for this book records only the Wetheringsett (A16.317).

qualifies texts (of whose identification he may be unsure) with the phrase *valde utilis*.¹³⁸ Morgan's content-list in LP 398 styles William Mesel - the seemingly unique copy of whose *De septem artibus* is contained therein - *magister*, thereby providing a rare clue to the author's identity.

Such activity might seem appropriate for a librarian (apart perhaps from the entry of his own name without mention of any 'official' position in relation to the books).¹³⁹ Yet Morgan's selection of books does not seem consistent with this. Were he acting as a librarian and listing the contents of Llanthony Secunda's books, it would have been logical to work his way along the shelves fairly systematically. Were Llanthony Secunda's books c.1421 still arranged as indicated by H460, the most obvious starting place for a survey would have been the first *gradus* of the first *armarium*. Only one book from this shelf survives and it is not inscribed. Morgan would then have come to the glossed Biblical books, many of which are extant but only three of which are inscribed.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, the first two shelves of the third *armarium* contain many manuscripts of Augustine, several of which can be identified with extant volumes, yet Morgan inscribed only one of these survivors. Although there was potential for someone to enhance the mid-fourteenth-century book-list by recording in more detail the content of Llanthony Secunda's manuscripts, it does not appear that Morgan was working through Llanthony Secunda's collection in a systematic way to this end. As Morgan may only have been a visitor to Llanthony Secunda, albeit perhaps a long-term one, he may have assisted the community's permanent librarian/precentor, perhaps acting as his amanuensis. The community might have welcomed someone who was prepared to work through (some of) its volumes and enter useful information therein.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ E.g. he names the author but not the text of LP 101.

¹³⁸ E.g. LP 80 (*In ist' vol' conti'r/l. breuiariu' bernardi prepositi papiensis cu' alio vald' vtili theolog'*); LP 398 (*In isto vol' cont' sermones valde utiles...*).

¹³⁹ For an insight into the activities of a known fifteenth-century librarian, see B.C. Barker-Benfield, 'Clement Canterbury', *MSS at Oxford: R.W. Hunt Memorial Exhibition*, ed. A.C. de la Mare and B.C. Barker-Benfield, (Oxford, 1980), no. xxi. Clement Canterbury did not, however, sign or title most of his entries in St. Augustine's books.

¹⁴⁰ LP MSS 153 (fos. 156-79), 208, 231.

¹⁴¹ Peter Lord has suggested that the group of books bearing Morgan's annotations once formed the library of Llanthony Prima, that it came to Llanthony Secunda on the reunification of the Llanthonies in 1481, and was there 'received, or shortly afterwards documented' by Morgan. On this basis, he asserts, one can establish what material belonged to the Welsh house (*Medieval*

Alternatively, was Morgan a 'schoolmaster', his involvement with Llanthony Secunda's books pertaining to this role? Responsibility for teaching others, rather than being a student himself, might explain why the texts in which Morgan showed an interest are not the advanced 'modern' ones of a university environment, but those which might be more suited to the all-round theological education of a canon. That said, the range of texts does not sit easily with this hypothesis. Then again, perhaps Morgan was preparing to compose something himself and was marking texts that would be useful for his project.

Morgan may not have held any particular position or mandate that prompted his involvement with Llanthony Secunda's books, having been instead simply interested in books and taken advantage of being in an environment where they were plentiful. The absence of recent works among Morgan's group indicates that his interest was not in modern exposition. Not every canon can have been suited to reading of an academic nature and 'Morgan's' books would nonetheless have formed a sound literary canon for any member of a religious community. If reports (cited above) of the less-than-healthy state of Carmarthen's own library are accurate, the texts which Morgan encountered at Llanthony Secunda may well have been new to him. It is also possible that Morgan inscribed other volumes which are now lost: as the survival rate of different classes of material across the Llanthony corpus is uneven, so may be the survival of the books in which Morgan left his mark. If Morgan and his activities remain enigmatic, they nevertheless demonstrate that, if new acquisitions had slowed to a trickle, many older volumes continued to see active service.

Vision, p. 280, n. 107). The suggestion that this group of books formed the library of Llanthony Prima is attractive, attributing to the Welsh site a selection of basic texts, some in MSS early enough to have been allotted to it at the 1205 separation. 1481 is an entirely feasible juncture for the passage of books between the Llanthonies and marking such a group of books is the sort of activity appropriate to a proposed 'librarian'. Nonetheless, the evidence does not tend to support Lord's claim. Most importantly, the palaeography of Morgan's hand, which would sit most comfortably in *s. xv*¹, strongly suggests that he did his work well before 1481. There seems little reason for Llanthony Prima's books to have passed wholesale to Secunda in 1481: the canons remaining at Prima would still have required books and Prima is unlikely to have owned MS resources that outweighed or could much ameliorate Secunda's collection. Only three of these 36 books have an obvious link to Llanthony Prima, whilst many more have a connection with Secunda independent of Morgan's inscription. The identification of several of the books inscribed by Morgan in H460 indicates their presence at Llanthony Secunda in *s. xiv*²; had they, therefore, been part of Llanthony Prima's post-1205 library, they had reached Secunda by *c.*1350 rather than in 1481, or had travelled to Prima post-*c.*1350.

III: Other Evidence for Fifteenth-Century Activity

Detailed study of Llanthony's various archival records of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century date is outwith the purview of this thesis; nevertheless, their very existence demonstrates continued skill in book-making and their content suggests continuing intellectual activity at Llanthony.¹⁴²

Several fifteenth-century records of a precentor at Llanthony Secunda name the official in charge of its books: John Frompton in 1457 and Walter Cheltnam in 1497-8.¹⁴³ Connections between Llanthony and Oxford were also maintained for longer than the evidence of the manuscripts suggests. Prior Henry Deane (1467-1501) had the degree of D.D.;¹⁴⁴ he was Llanthony's scholar at Oxford in 1457 and rented rooms at Exeter College 1473-88, although there are no records of his award of a degree there.¹⁴⁵ Deane's successor Edmund Forest (1501-25) was Llanthony Secunda's scholar at St. Mary's College, Oxford in 1498 and still an undergraduate when elected prior.¹⁴⁶ He later resumed his studies at St. Mary's, obtaining a dispensation towards his B.Th. by glazing two windows of the Congregation House at the church of St. Mary the Virgin. He qualified as B.Th. and B.A. in 1509 and *Sancte Theologie Professor* (Doctor of theology) in 1514.¹⁴⁷ Forest studied under Richard Charnock, prior of students c.1496-c.1501, who also taught Erasmus.¹⁴⁸ Rhodes notes, though, that St. Mary's College was in terminal decline in the early sixteenth century; Llanthony no longer supported a student at Oxford in 1519 and Forest was the last Llanthony canon to obtain a degree.¹⁴⁹ Men such as Deane and Forest are likely to have owned books. Provision for learning at a more basic level at Llanthony Secunda in this period is indicated by the record in Forest's register of the appointment in 1502 of Thomas Brownyng, *litteratus*, as holder of a grammar school within

¹⁴² Llanthony's archival documents are listed in appendix 5.

¹⁴³ Rhodes, *Calendar*, no. 3 (TNA, C115/79, no. 6685, f. 3^v) and no. 109 (Bodl., Top. Gloucs. c.5, p. 665).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 102.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xviii; no. 3 (TNA, C115/79, no. 6685, f. 3^v). Deane's most notable post was the see of Canterbury from 1501.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

¹⁴⁹ Llanthony's last prior, Richard Hart, sometimes listed as a graduate, was not (*ibid.*, p. xxiv).

Llanthony Secunda for canons and boys of the house.¹⁵⁰ Such a school would have required books; Llanthony's stock of older grammatical manuscripts may have been employed or new ones purchased or produced.

The registers and cartularies from this period, almost certainly in-house products, attest to archival flair and skill in book production.¹⁵¹ Hayward's register was written by seven scribes using Gothic book-script, bastard hand and an incipient secretary hand. Marginalia include guidance notes such as *Verte folium* and *Nota diligenter*. Forest's register was the work of fourteen hands; each entry begins with an initial ornamented with flourishes and interlace.

Some fifteenth-century Llanthony canons seemingly had a particular aptitude for archival documentation and were responsible for the redaction of more than one document. Llanthony Secunda's 1440 *Tabula sive kalendarium de cartis*, articulated by coloured initials and rubrics, was, we learn from the heading (f. 1), ...*Facta...per Fratrem Ricardum Steymour de Aure... anno Domini Millesimo CCCC^{mo} quadragesimo... Tempore Dompni Johannis Garlande Prioris [1436-57] Que postea scripta sunt per Fratres Robertum Cole Rentarium et Johannem Machyn coquinarium*.¹⁵² Nine years later, Steymour was involved in the compilation of an impressively-decorated two-volume *cartularium* for Llanthony Secunda:¹⁵³ ...*quod Dominus Johannes Garlond Prior [1436-57] ibidem fieri fecit de Cartis et Scriptis suis subsequentibus Adhibita inde Curia confratris magistri Ricardi Steymour Anno domini Millesimo .CCCC^{mo}. xlix^o/....*¹⁵⁴ It was written by one scribe¹⁵⁵ - Steymour himself? In 1440, Steymour was also responsible for constructing a chest in which Llanthony's charters were kept.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ TNA, C115/85, no. 6691, f. 5 (*ibid.*, no. 125).

¹⁵¹ Rhodes's edition of the registers of Priors Hayward (1457-66) and Forest (1501-25) (respectively TNA C115/79, no. 6685 and C115/85, no. 6691) incorporates useful descriptions of the manuscripts themselves: *Calendar*, pp. xxxiv-xxxix for what follows.

¹⁵² TNA, C115/84, no. 6690 (Robinson, *DDLL*, I, no. 120; II, pls. 114-5).

¹⁵³ TNA, C115/81, no. 6687 and 83, no. 6689 (*ibid.*, I, no. 119 and II, pl. 130).

¹⁵⁴ C115/83, no. 6689, f. 1.

¹⁵⁵ Robinson, *DDLL*, I, no. 119. Blank ruled leaves hold a few late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century additions.

¹⁵⁶ Langston, 'Priors', p. 118.

During his long career, Robert Cole held several positions at Llanthony Secunda, including prior's chaplain, proctor in Ireland and renter.¹⁵⁷ In addition to his contribution to the 1440 *tabula sive kalendarium de cartis*, he made an abstract of charters in 1458 *ad edificationem omnium fratrum suorum*, with instructions that it was to be kept by the precentor (further evidence for the existence of this official at Llanthony Secunda in the fifteenth century).¹⁵⁸ It opens with a contemporary account of the priory's foundation. Cole was also responsible for a terrier of Llanthony Secunda's 160 properties in Gloucester in 1442,¹⁵⁹ and for a 1455 rental recording the liability or otherwise of each tenement to pay landgavel.¹⁶⁰ The blank parchment on the back of the roll holds an elaborately constructed pedigree (in English) of the kings of England, describing each and giving accounts of his reign.¹⁶¹ This rental reveals that the prior of Llanthony held in Southgate Street a curtilage with a tenement 'wherein a school is held' and that Thomas Smith, baker, held a tenement for which he rendered 8s. annually to the precentor.¹⁶² This tenement may be the house in Gloucester given by Robert and Christian Paulesley to write, amend and keep the priory books by the precentor and to be applied to no other use.¹⁶³

One register is valuable evidence for activity at Llanthony Prima in the fifteenth century. A *Registrum terrarum domus Lanthonie Prime in Hibernia* of 1408 could have been made at the Welsh house or at its Irish cell: *Incipiunt capitula cartarum... de omnibus ecclesijs beneficij redditibus terris possessionibus et rebus alijs que domus lanthonie prime in Wallia possidet in Hibernia... Scriptarum per adam Elmeley et Willelmum Temset procuratores dicte domus in*

¹⁵⁷ Rhodes, *Calendar*, p. 2, n. 4.

¹⁵⁸ Now Stowell Park, Northleach (Glos.).

¹⁵⁹ TNA, C115/73, no. 6678. Rhodes characterises this terrier as a catalogue of frauds allegedly perpetrated against the priory by the borough and its burgesses in the previous 90 years (*Calendar*, pp. xvi-xvii). Prior Hayward's register (1457-66) contains memoranda for arbitrators in a dispute *tempus* his predecessor John Garland, the author of which claimed that the burgesses had trampled on the priory's rights when its ablest canons died in the Black Death (*ibid.*, no. 21). Rhodes suggests that the author was Cole.

¹⁶⁰ Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR/J5/1, ed. and trans. W.H. Stevenson, *Rental of all the Houses in Gloucester A.D. 1455* (Gloucester, 1890).

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xii, 117 sqq.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 99.

¹⁶³ Langston, 'Priors', p. 75. Canon David Matthew compiled another rental of Gloucester in 1535 (*Rental*, ed. Stevenson, pp. vi-vii).

*Hibernia...*¹⁶⁴ The inclusion of a short account of Hugh de Laci, Llanthony's founder, indicates an interest in the community's early history there as at Llanthony Secunda.

IV: Llanthony's Printed Books

The last two acquisitions to consider are both printed books, the only ones associated with Llanthony and the only evidence that this new technology touched it during the eighty-plus years between its invention and the Dissolution.¹⁶⁵

Why so few printed books are associated with Llanthony is unclear. The most likely reason is that many of the earliest printed books contained economically-viable texts of a traditional nature, making them unattractive to long-established communities, which are likely to have already possessed such texts in manuscript.¹⁶⁶ Cost may also have been significant: printed books were initially expensive and may have arrived when Llanthony did not have the funds to invest in new texts or media. One might think that a canon studying at university would have been the most likely way for a fairly remote community to have encountered print culture, someone who, like Richard Calne, might have acquired books which eventually followed him back to his house. As we have seen, Llanthony canons did attend university in the later fifteenth century. Yet it may have been easier for a poorer canon to have acquired a second-hand manuscript copy of a text from the university chest system or by exchange than to pay for a printed book, which were presumably too new to be obtained second-hand. In addition, printed books containing traditional texts may not have appealed to university students, who are likely rather to have required modern academic texts. Thus a canon-scholar, hitherto a potential conduit for

¹⁶⁴ F. 2. TNA, C115/80, no. 6686 (Robinson, *DDLL*, I no. 118; II pls. 78-9; ed. Brooks, *Irish Cartularies*).

¹⁶⁵ Between 1450 and 1500, some fifteen to twenty million copies were printed of some 40,000 editions, a number perhaps larger than that of all of the MSS produced in medieval Europe: M.A. Rouse and R.H. Rouse, 'Backgrounds to Print: Aspects of the Manuscript Book in Northern Europe of the Fifteenth Century' in their *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and MSS* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1991), pp. 449-466, p. 464.

¹⁶⁶ 'Contemporary texts, however, were in the minority during the first century of printing... more common is the phenomenon of printing houses and their editors working with texts recognized as 'of earlier times'...' (L. Hellinga, 'Printing', *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain III*, ed. Hellinga and Trapp, pp. 65-108, pp. 89-90).

new influences to his home community, might not have performed this role for printed books.

The first printed book connected to Llanthony is Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library, Inc. 58, a product of Wynkyn de Worde's Westminster workshop, printed in 1495.¹⁶⁷ Its content, Jerome's *Vitae Patrum*, translated from the French by William Caxton, is typical of early printed books.¹⁶⁸ The book is illustrated and appears much used: it is battered and cut-down and has been re-bound. There are many annotations, many generally illegible or partly trimmed away. A good number seem to include personal names, which may indicate that the book moved between several owners or was used by a number of people. An inscription in the lower margin of f. cclxxxii^r (*Humfredus J/Geram canonicus et Cell*), in a neat s. xv/xvi hand, links the book to Llanthony. A *Humffrey Jheraum* was amongst the twenty-two canons of Llanthony Secunda who signed the acknowledgement of the Royal Supremacy on 2nd September 1534.¹⁶⁹ His inscription in this book presumably reveals that he was, at some stage, Llanthony's cellarer. On 10th March, 29 Henry VIII (1538), the two Llanthony priories were surrendered and *Humfry Jheram*, now sub-prior, was one of the nineteen canons of Llanthony Secunda to sign the deed of surrender.¹⁷⁰ The connection with Jheram may suggest that the book was acquired on personal, rather than institutional, initiative. Whether Jheram had it *ab initio* is unknown, as is whether other inscriptions in the volume were made before, after or during his ownership. A connection with the Gloucester locality may be deduced from the words ?*Thomas* [five/six illegible words] ?*Gloucester*.¹⁷¹ A couple of folios bear *nota*-marks and brief identifications dating from the early 1500s, which could have been done at Llanthony (f. xi^{r-v}). F. 182^v bears the

¹⁶⁷ Colophon, f. cccxvi^v. Particular thanks to my supervisor for information about this book.

¹⁶⁸ *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books printed abroad 1475-1640*, first compiled by A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave; second edition revised and enlarged, begun by W.A. Jackson and F.S. Ferguson, completed by K.F. Pantzer. 2 vols., (London, 1976), II: no. 14507. H460 records a copy of this (A16.118).

¹⁶⁹ He is one of six signatories who were ordained either as acolyte, sub-deacon or deacon in 1526: Langston, 'Priors', pp. 136-7.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-1.

¹⁷¹ Written vertically and largely cropped off (f. cccxxi^v). A scribble on f. cccxxxix^r may be transcribed and extended as *Primo Robertus Runk?con*; on f. cxlviii^r is a phrase which seems to include the name *Thomas ?rynggolen*. One Robert Con was a canon at Llanthony Secunda in 1498 (*ibid.*, p. 130).

name *Johannis Roke*, valuably dated 1566. Whilst in theory this could shed light on the book's post-Reformation trajectory, this individual currently eludes detection.

Llanthony's second printed book (London, Westminster Abbey, H.1.31) was printed in Paris in 1509.¹⁷² In contrast to the first, it contains a text that stemmed from an academic environment and may have been relevant to the university curriculum: the Fourth Book/Part of the commentary on the *Sentences* of John Mair¹⁷³ (c.1467-1550), a Scot who studied at Paris and taught at the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews and whose work as a logician, commentator on Aristotle and theologian won him great reputation.¹⁷⁴ Underneath the title is an illustration enclosing the words *PONSET. LE. PREVX*:. Beneath the picture is *Uenundantur parrhisiis a Ponceto le preux eiusdem ciui / tatis bibliopola: ad signum poti stagni i vico sancti Jacobi / prope diui yuonis edem commorante*, indicating that the volume was sold by a commercial Parisian *librarius*.¹⁷⁵

H.1.31 imitates the form of a manuscript book: running-titles give the page number and the book name or number;¹⁷⁶ initials intertwined with foliage and enclosed by a rectangular frame mark the divisions; paraph-marks and 'heavier' capital letters articulate the text itself. The printer provided marginalia which highlight textual divisions and indicate the content of particular sections. There are some hand-written annotations.¹⁷⁷ A few jottings may record the names of erstwhile users or owners: f. lxxvi^r bears the almost illegible name *Jes[-]ns mav[-]*

¹⁷² Colophon (f. ccxxiiij^v): ...*Hoc opus in luce' missum est: du' scepra teneret magnanimus quartus scotorum rex Jacobus, and Impressum atque exaratum est hoc opus Parrhisiis per me Philippum Pigouchet: co'mora'tem in vico cy[-] hare Anno dni millesimo q'nge'tesimo nono: die pemulti'a mensis Junij.*

¹⁷³ Aliter Major/Majoris/Mare/Mayr.

¹⁷⁴ A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500*, (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 384-5. His publications were almost entirely printed in Paris. Sharpe (*Handlist*, no. 791) records four Parisian editions of Mair on the *Sentences* in the space of eight years. This is no. IV (Paris, 1509). M.A. Shaaber, *Check-List of works of British Authors printed abroad, in languages other than English, to 1641* (New York, 1975), no. M44.

¹⁷⁵ Presumably acting by arrangement with the book's printer (his identification appears at the end of the text).

¹⁷⁶ Foliation is incorrect by at least one for most of the book: printing did not necessarily improve accuracy.

¹⁷⁷ Underlining in brown ink: fos. xxxix^v, xl^v, xlj^r, cxxiiij^r, cliij^v, clxxxiiij. Comments in pale, watery brown ink (different from that used for the underlining): fos. lxxj^{r-v}, lxxij^r, xcvi^r.

]d¹⁷⁸ in a cursive hand in the outer margin; the same name in the same hand seems to be repeated on f. cxxiiij^r: *Jos*[hole in paper]*ns mawia am/wc/o*'.¹⁷⁹ On the final page is *Thomas Kyme/Kryme* in a neat, cursive hand.¹⁸⁰ The last page of the book and the back pastedown are formed by a bifolium from another printed book. This bears several snatches of writing in different hands, mostly illegible, but *lantonia* is visible at the end of one piece, confirming an association with our house.

The final 150 years of Llanthony's library were seemingly, therefore, ones of stasis - something perhaps reflected indirectly in the preservation of its fourteenth-century catalogue. Activity was sporadic and largely connected to personal endeavour. Acquisitions were few. Richard Calne's efforts (enabled, implicitly, by his community) maintained Llanthony's connection with Oxford and brought the last known significant influx of books; with the exception of one of the two printed books, Calne's manuscripts seemingly remained the most up-to-date texts in Llanthony's library until the Dissolution. Llanthony Secunda did not apparently participate in the revival of literary activity apparent at some English houses, nor experience a renaissance of copying in the fifteenth century, unlike some central European houses under the influence of *devotio moderna*.¹⁸¹ Factors that might have favoured the enlargement of the book collection - the dedication of revenue to support the precentor, scholarly priors with university connections, literate canons with the skills necessary to produce books - do not seem to have done so. Nor does the evidence suggest that print culture was

¹⁷⁸ Or *s/es*.

¹⁷⁹ This name resembles one familiar from H460. A16.253 is *Decretales J. de Mauwe*... - this seems to be a donor/individual associated with the book (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson). It is, however, hard to imagine a direct connection between an individual in two documents of such differing dates. *Mauwe* may be a place name - *Maw* is the prefix of the names of a number of places around the Midlands, Wales and Cornwall.

¹⁸⁰ As this name is written clearly, it is disappointing not to be able to find out anything definite about him. A Thomas Keyme was at Magdalene in 1538 (*Alumni Oxonienses*, ed. J. Foster [Oxford, 1891-2], p. 848); however, if he belonged to Llanthony in the 1530s, one might hope to find him on the list of signatories of the Supremacy/Dissolution. A 'Kym' was at Cambridge in 1468-9 (*Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ed. J. Venn and J.A. Venn, 4 vols., [Cambridge 1922], I, p. 32), and a Thomas Cayne (Keme, Keyme) was at New College in 1534 (A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford 1501-1540* [Oxford, 1974], p. 108).

¹⁸¹ Certain Benedictine, Cistercian and Augustinian houses, which had not produced books in quantity since the 1230s, before the initiative passed to the universities and the mendicant orders, resumed production in the 1400s, having been meanwhile relying on twelfth-, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century donations (Rouse and Rouse, 'Backgrounds to Print', pp. 457-8).

embraced at Llanthony in the later 1400s - unsurprisingly, perhaps, for a fairly remote community with a solid collection of earlier theology in manuscript form. Interest in these earlier books is shown by the inscriptions of Morgan of Carmarthen. The reunification of the two Llanthony communities in 1481 is not reflected in the extant books: Llanthony Prima's library seems likely to have had little to offer Secunda's at this time and is the most likely beneficiary of any increased contacts between the priories thereafter. All in all, Llanthony in this late period, although active in other areas, seems to have relied upon the library resources accrued over the preceding three hundred years.

Aftermath and Conclusion

The post-Dissolution fate of Llanthony's books is largely undocumented; nevertheless the general lines of transmission to their present homes are reasonably clear. Sadly, as with so many medieval book collections, the precise whereabouts of Llanthony's books between the Dissolution and the early seventeenth century is unclear. The 1545 will of Llanthony's last prior, Richard Hart, bequeathed to one Thomas Morgan 'all my bookes of Latyn...'.¹ One of Hart's executors was his brother-in-law, 'Thomas Theare',² the grandfather of the book collector John Theyer (c.1597-1673) of Brockworth.³ Anthony Wood (1632-95), writing about John Theyer, records that he had a large manuscript collection '... which he himself had for the most part collected. The foundation of it was laid by his grandfather who had them from prior Hart, and he from the Library of Langthony when it was dissolved... Afterwards Charles Theyer [grandson of John Theyer]... did offer to sell them to the university of Oxon, but the price being too great, they were sold to Robert Scot of London bookseller, who soon after sold them to his majesty king Ch. II to be reposed in his library at S. James's, he having first, as I have been informed, cull'd them'.⁴ The Llanthony books, despite being bequeathed by Hart to Thomas Morgan, therefore seemingly came at some point into the hands of the Theyers. A couple of Llanthony-Theyer manuscripts did reach the Royal Collection (John Theyer's library was sold to Charles II c.1678), thence the British Library.⁵ However, that only a few Llanthony books ultimately entered the Royal Collection suggests that the majority of them had already migrated elsewhere. M.R. James suggested '... assuming that Wood's story of Prior Hart of Llanthony is true, that Archbishop Bancroft [1605-10, the founder of Lambeth Palace Library] bought

¹ Morgan is referred to as 'the heire of hurst' (Lydney parish, Gloucs.) and may have been related to Hart, since 'my cosyn' John Morgan is one of his executors. Printed by G. Baskerville, 'Some Ecclesiastical Wills', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 52, (1930), pp. 281-293, pp. 284-287.

² *Ibid.*

³ Hart was granted property at Brockworth (Gloucs.) after the Dissolution - *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie, 21 vols. in 37, (London, 1894, repr. Vaduz, 1965), xiv, part 1, p. 596.

⁴ A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: an exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford*, ed. P. Bliss, 4 vols., (London, 1813-20), III, p. 996.

⁵ BL, Royal 8 D.viii and Royal 5 F.ix appear in the sale-catalogue of Theyer's books. The latter bears Theyer's ownership note (1647).

from the elder Theyer a large number of manuscripts including the greater part of the books which had belonged to Prior Hart; and we must suppose that Wood was mistaken in thinking that the Theyer MSS. passed intact into the possession of John and of Charles Theyer'.⁶ This suggestion is entirely plausible, especially given that the number of Llanthony books at Lambeth Palace (the vast majority of the extant corpus) easily outweighs the number in any other repository.

Small groups of Llanthony manuscripts reached Corpus Christi and Trinity Colleges, Oxford, in the early seventeenth century by the gift, respectively, of Henry Parry (fellow of Corpus from 1614, d. 1629),⁷ and of Francis Baber, a Trinity man and chancellor of Gloucester cathedral (d. 1669).⁸ The Gloucester associations of these men suggest that the books they presented to their colleges had remained in the locality of Llanthony. Judging by its likely Theyer connections, so had the mass of Llanthony books acquired by Bancroft for Lambeth.

A little more specific information is available about a few Llanthony manuscripts which did not, perhaps, follow the route of the majority. The post-Dissolution history of TF 5088 (*vita* of Robert de Béthune) reveals that it stayed in the vicinity of Hereford for several centuries.⁹ LP 475 (fos. 111-79) (also the *vita*) is inscribed *Johannes Barkham A.D. 1612* - several of his books are amongst the Laud manuscripts at Oxford.¹⁰ Llanthony Secunda's registers were retained by Arthur Porter¹¹ and descended with the Llanthony manor until 1820; they went subsequently to the Chancery Master's office and to TNA in 1881.¹² Given the overall integrity of the extant Llanthony corpus, it is possible that odd Llanthony

⁶ 'The Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace', *Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, Octavo Series, 33 (1900), pp. 1-64, p. 6; *Abbeys*, p. 135. The catalogues of Bancroft's books list 472 MSS (LP, Library Records, f.1 [fos. 68-73] and f. 2 [fos. 79-85]) (Ker, 'Bancroft's Rearrangement of the Manuscripts of Lambeth Palace', p. 1, n. 5). Some Llanthony MSS can be identified therein.

⁷ Ker/Watson, *MLGB/Suppl.*; 'MSS of Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*...', ed. Gibson and Palmer, p. 991; R.W. Hunt, 'The Preface to the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Giraldus Cambrensis', *Viator*, 8, (1977), pp. 192-213. The MSS were bequeathed to Henry Parry by his father Henry Parry, bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, in 1616.

⁸ *Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, p. 35.

⁹ As noted in chapter 5, p. 70, n. 85.

¹⁰ James, *Catalogue*.

¹¹ For whom see chapter 1, p. 20.

¹² Rhodes, *Calendar*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

books that ultimately reached a repository other than Lambeth, the British Library or Oxford and whose post-Reformation trajectory may therefore differ from the bulk, were not at Llanthony at the Dissolution.¹³

Throughout this thesis, comparisons and contrasts have been drawn between aspects of Llanthony's book collection and those of other houses. Having now considered Llanthony's manuscripts in detail, it seems salutary to consider the wider implications of the Llanthony material, identifying broad themes and considering whether these are typical of medieval religious book collections in general.

Two things about Llanthony are atypical. The first is the unusual circumstances of its history. Llanthony's existence over dual sites c.1136-c.1205, and the varying fortunes of those sites over that time, no doubt influenced its book collection, affecting the nature and rate of growth - whether attention was directed towards acquiring new titles or to providing sufficient copies of fundamental texts to cover two sites - and the availability of books. Most obviously, this phase of Llanthony's history is reflected in early duplicate copies of certain texts. Regrettably, the arrangements made for Llanthony's twelfth-century books at its division c.1205 are unclear and there is little evidence for book provision at or for Llanthony Prima thereafter. Given how few books can be certainly associated with Prima after c.1135 and that many can be specifically linked to Llanthony Secunda, it is tempting to judge that after the foundation of the daughter-house, pre-existing holdings went there and most subsequent acquisitions occurred there. Some books of general 'Llanthony' provenance may, at an indeterminate point, have been at the Welsh house. Informal connections between the Llanthonies are likely to have persisted beyond their formal separation: that some extant 'Llanthony' books moved between the houses even whilst they were separated suggests collaboration or co-operation in book provision.¹⁴ The reunification of the priories in 1481 was a further

¹³ I am grateful to Melanie Barber and David Pearson for their assistance with my queries about the origins of Lambeth Palace Library.

¹⁴ See chapter 9 on Morgan of Carmarthen.

opportunity for the movement of books between the sites. The exiguous evidence does not permit much more to be said about Llanthony Prima's books.

Secondly, the strong survival rate of Llanthony's medieval books is atypical, especially amongst Augustinian communities.¹⁵ To the manuscripts, Llanthony Secunda's library catalogue – a rare Augustinian survivor of such a record – is an invaluable addition. In combination, the books and catalogue provide an unrivalled insight into a medieval English Augustinian library.

The poor survival rate of other Augustinian libraries renders impractical a comparison between them and Llanthony. Rather, two Benedictine houses whose medieval libraries seem relatively well represented, and of which recent accounts have been published, provide a comparison. The Benedictine Reading Abbey (founded in 1121, a few years after Llanthony Prima and similarly with the input of Henry I) was amassing a book collection coevally with Llanthony:¹⁶ it is, therefore, a valuable comparison by which to judge how typical was Llanthony of a new twelfth-century foundation. By contrast, Worcester Cathedral priory has a far longer history – founded as a bishopric in 680, Worcester's lengthy pre-twelfth-century library history meant that it did not share the need of Llanthony and Reading to establish a book collection *ab initio* in the 1100s. Worcester's proximity to Llanthony is important, as it may have been part of similar 'west-country' networks.

As at Llanthony, the twelfth century was the peak period of book acquisition at Reading. There are fifty-seven twelfth-century books of Reading provenance, fewer than survive from Llanthony.¹⁷ However, Reading's library catalogue, from only approximately sixty years after its foundation (c.1180-1191), has 193 entries.¹⁸ This demonstrates remarkably swift acquisition during Reading's early

¹⁵ *Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, pp. xxii-xxiii. Also unusual is that Llanthony's books are now mostly in one place.

¹⁶ Studied most recently by Coates, *Reading*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Appendix F.

¹⁸ Rather than volumes. BL, MS Egerton 3031 was compiled at an advantageously early date, allowing the acquisition of its contents to be allocated to a short period of time. It and Reading's extant twelfth-century books indicate which texts were prioritised for acquisition there. Conversely, with the exception of extant, datable MSS therein, H460 does not illuminate from

life and the great losses that have occurred from even one century.¹⁹ The number of extant Reading books then lessens with every century: its total of forty-four thirteenth-century books is lower than that known from Llanthony; similar numbers of fourteenth-century manuscripts are associated with Reading (19) and Llanthony; seven fifteenth-century manuscripts and one printed book survive from Reading, a figure comparable to Llanthony's coeval total of six manuscripts and one printed book. Two sixteenth-century printed books survive from Reading, one from Llanthony - neither house seemingly embraced the new technology.²⁰ Both Reading and Llanthony were, therefore, initially energetic book collectors, doubtless due to a combination of the need to found a collection and the book-collecting zeal of the 1100s. Acquisition tailed off once the basics had been obtained.

The lack of medieval documentation relating to Worcester's library makes it difficult to gauge its size. However, Thomson surmises that the library of late medieval Worcester should have housed upwards of 1000 volumes. The surviving books represent, at the most, about one third to one half of this.²¹ Worcester's library was probably, therefore, at least twice the size of Llanthony's in the later medieval period - predictably, given the foundation's longer history, greater size and status, and closer connections to Oxford. The surviving proportion of the books of the two libraries, though, may be similar. The situation regarding printed books at Worcester differs to that at Llanthony and Reading: the journal of Prior William More (1519-1534) records 84 volumes

when in the 250 years of Llanthony's existence preceding its redaction the books that it records date, or at what point any of them was acquired.

¹⁹ The inclusion of service books in Reading's book-list doubtless partly accounts for the difference between the number of books that it records and the number of extant twelfth-century MSS from, firstly, Reading and, secondly, Llanthony. As *liturgica* has not survived well from Llanthony and is not listed in H460, its contribution to Llanthony's acquisition figures cannot be judged.

²⁰ Unfortunately, exactly when a volume reached the foundation with which it is associated is often unknown.

²¹ WCL contains 285 complete manuscripts, the majority from the pre-Reformation cathedral priory. Worcester cathedral priory's library is additionally represented by at least 124 manuscripts now kept elsewhere. Post-Reformation collectors plundered Worcester of pre-Conquest and twelfth-century books, many of which are among the Worcester books in other repositories (including 38 pre-Conquest and 45 twelfth-century volumes) (Thomson, *Worcester*, pp. xvii-xix).

purchased for him, most of which were seemingly printed books. These, though, were probably not part of the library, but of his personal collection.²²

Do Llanthony's manuscripts suggest that it was collecting similar material to elsewhere? Reading's early acquisitions - glossed Biblical books, patristics, theology, history, chronicles, service books, hagiography, poetry - are broadly similar to Llanthony's, where, naturally for a new community, the canons made a determined effort to acquire theology ancient and recent. Reading acquired contemporary theology (Peter Lombard, Hugh of S.-Victor, Anselm, Bernard of Clairvaux) alongside traditional authorities.²³ Llanthony, perhaps, had these texts sooner: Anselm was seemingly amongst the earliest material that it acquired and Llanthony Secunda's early spate of focused acquisition (*s. xii*²⁴) encompassed work by Hugh, Bernard and Ailred of Rievaulx. Like Llanthony, Reading soon gained a range of glosses on the Psalter and Pauline Epistles.²⁴ Both communities therefore adhered to the most modern fashions of book acquisition.

The fifty-odd surviving books probably made at Worcester in the 1100s contain similar sorts of texts to Llanthony's and Reading's coeval acquisitions.²⁵ Later-twelfth-century Worcester does not seem to have been vibrant. There is no evidence of a concern to acquire the up-to-date theology or biblical studies mostly associated with the Parisian schools.²⁶ Only sixteen glossed biblical books survive from Worcester (fewer than from Llanthony) and few can be proved to have been there early.²⁷ That the heyday of such books coincided with periods of vigorous collecting at Llanthony and Reading may have made those communities keener to acquire them.

The survival rate of Worcester's and Reading's service books is even poorer than that of Llanthony's: there is only one representative from each.²⁸ From Reading

²² *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.

²³ Coates, *Reading*, p. 41.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁵ See Thomson, *Worcester*, p. xxii for shelfmarks.

²⁶ An exception is Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (*ibid.*, p. xxiv).

²⁷ This figure represents a fraction of what existed (*ibid.*, p. xix).

²⁸ There are also some fragments from Reading.

there is also twelfth-century material relating to St. James, of whom the abbey had a relic, and to local saints, whereas texts concerning saints associated with Llanthony, such as Kyneburg and Kenan, appears only from the mid thirteenth century.

Reading's twelfth-century collection also contained material indicative of its early Cluniac connection (*consuetudines* and *vitae*).²⁹ At Llanthony, the works of Augustine of Hippo and the Victorines were collected throughout the library's history; Augustinian sensibilities are further suggested by several copies of the Rule of St. Augustine and by Clement of Llanthony's composition of a commentary thereon.

Historical writing appears to have been more popular at Reading than at Llanthony in the 1100s. Indeed, little historical writing survives from any point in Llanthony's history - only H460's testimony reveals that it was collected with any enthusiasm, and it is likely that some of the works that it records were twelfth-century acquisitions. Reading's late-twelfth-century catalogue records material relating to the abbey's early years.³⁰ At Llanthony at the same time, the Béthune *vita* is the only evidence of interest in the community's early history, although the foundation narrative in Cotton Julius D.x (s. xiii) is likely to have been based on earlier (now lost) material. At Worcester, historical writing is associated with the monk John of Worcester (occ. 1095 and c.1140). Worcester may, therefore, have obtained specialised material - perhaps via the impetus of a single monk - when Llanthony was still largely focusing on basic theology. Worcester had, though, by John's time, doubtless already acquired many basic texts.

Scholarly activity occurred at Reading and Worcester as at Llanthony in the 1100s; the surviving work from all three houses is by high-ranking community members. Although later-twelfth-century Worcester seemingly did not obtain many recent texts, scholarship there indicates that what it did have was being

²⁹ Coates, *Reading*, p. 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

used.³¹ The *quaestiones* composed by Reading's first abbot, Hugh of Amiens,³² and the Worcester monk John of St. Germans's (s. xiii^{ex}-xivⁱⁿ) commentary on Aristotle suggest a more cutting-edge personal scholarship than do the works composed by Llanthony's canons, none of which is similarly scholastically-based.³³ Most known Llanthony in-house scholarship is from the 1100s. Whilst twelfth-century manuscripts containing such theology have survived better than some other classes of material, this was nonetheless also a vital period of book acquisition at Llanthony, which was probably driven by some of those individuals whose own work survives from it. Work by other local scholars appears in Llanthony's manuscripts and H460. Worcester acquired some of the same work, sometimes in manuscripts coeval with Llanthony's copies.³⁴ Known west-country networks of copying and a proven example of Llanthony providing an exemplar for Worcester suggest that further textual collation of Llanthony's manuscripts with Worcester's and with those of other west-country houses would be worthwhile. There is no indication in the Llanthony corpus of interaction with Welsh culture.

Worcester's and Reading's twelfth-century manuscript acquisitions therefore show similar patterns and concerns to Llanthony's: a primary desire for esteemed authorities, the sound basis of *lectio divina*, and the acquisition of other classes of material, perhaps on an *ad hoc* basis and promoted by individual scholarly inclinations.

In the earlier thirteenth century, Llanthony continued to concentrate on theology. Circa 1250-c.1350, contemporary theology was favoured, law gained popularity and some material suggests university contacts and interest in English history and geography. Similar material is found in Reading and Worcester's extant thirteenth-century manuscripts. Reading's monks continued also to compose work themselves, and several thirteenth-century manuscripts may have been

³¹ Thomson, *Worcester*, p. xxiv.

³² Coates, *Reading*, pp. 41-2.

³³ Although the liberal arts tract by William Mesel, surviving only in the thirteenth-century Llanthony MS LP 398, may have been composed in-house. Various anonymous works in H460 might also be in-house scholarship.

³⁴ Thomson, *Worcester*, p. xxx.

scholar's notebooks.³⁵ Most thirteenth-century Worcester books are from late in the century and reflect the beginnings of ongoing contact with Oxford.³⁶ At Llanthony, however, the surviving books suggest that material was collected throughout the century, with a definite dip from c.1300. Despite these general similarities and the comparable numbers of thirteenth-century books surviving from Llanthony and Reading, Coates's opinion that by c.1300 Reading was enthusiastically engaged in learning does not seem to be transferable to Llanthony, where the impression c.1300 is one of stasis.³⁷

Both Reading's and Worcester's thirteenth-century manuscripts manifest a concern for languages other than Latin. The writing of text and notes by a Worcester monk, the so-called 'Tremulous hand' (c.1225-50), shows an interest in Old English, something doubtless promoted by Worcester's long history and numerous pre-Conquest books.³⁸ Distinctive amongst Reading's thirteenth-century acquisitions are works pertaining to the Greek language. Very few monastic houses acquired Greek manuscripts at this time; Coates suggests that these texts reveal the presence in England of a previously unknown individual with whom Greek studies should be associated.³⁹ Although a little Llanthony material is in languages other than Latin (French and Old/Middle English), no similarly idiosyncratic work seems to survive from it.

Llanthony's extant books suggest links to the scholastic milieu from quite an early point, though its university connections become clearer from the 1300s. Several works in Reading's late-twelfth-century catalogue suggest study in the schools, whilst at Llanthony the presence of glossed Biblical books from c.1150 and of scholastic texts from the late twelfth century onwards suggests that some canons were pursuing advanced studies then, as do the texts in various thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts. Unfortunately, details of individual university attendees are wanting. John Lecche's substantial fourteenth-century

³⁵ Coates, *Reading*, pp. 67-8, 72, 77-8, 97. Several unique anonymous biblical commentaries survive from s. xiii: some or all may be by Reading monks (*ibid.*, p. 98).

³⁶ Thomson, *Worcester*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

³⁷ *Reading*, pp. 77-8.

³⁸ See Thomson, *Worcester*, p. xxiv. Thomson notes the 'exceptional' survival of at least 23 books in OE from Worcester (*ibid.*, p. xxi).

³⁹ *Reading*, pp. 109-10, Appendix E.

bequest brought to Llanthony an invaluable injection of recent, academic-related work; the core legal material in it is similar to that acquired by Reading in the 1300s.⁴⁰ Richard Calne is the sole Llanthony canon-scholar who can be certainly connected to books relating to his Oxford studies.⁴¹ Comparison of Calne's books with those from Worcester that have university links suggests that the type of text that he obtained was reasonably typical.⁴² Worcester's connections with Oxford appear to have been stronger than Llanthony's. The focus of the earliest peak of enthusiasm was John of St. Germans, whose activities were examined briefly in the preceding chapter.⁴³ Other Worcester monks attended university contemporaneously.⁴⁴ Thomson suggests that the training that monks received at Oxford engendered a concern to amass back at Worcester a reference collection of theological and biblical studies, which was then expounded in the form of preaching.⁴⁵ The best evidence for Reading monks studying at Oxford is from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. During this time, nine are known to have attended, three of whom were subsequently abbots of the house.⁴⁶ Reading's strongest presence at Oxford is therefore coeval with that of Llanthony's known Oxford students - Calne, and Priors Deane and Forest - two of whom similarly went on to head their communities. The Augustinian order's support for study at Oxford seems to have been rather more haphazard than the Benedictine's, so it is perhaps unsurprising that fewer connections between Llanthony and Oxford than between Worcester, Reading and Oxford are certain.⁴⁷

In-house production is likely to have been at its peak at Llanthony in the twelfth century. Llanthony Prima may have begun to produce books itself in the first

⁴⁰ Coates, *Reading*, p. 102. Worcester's law books came from men who had been local advocates (a parallel with Lecce, an external donor to Llanthony) (Thomson, *Worcester*, p. xxx).

⁴¹ Similar material reached Reading at an earlier date (Coates, *Reading*, pp. 103-4, no. 107).

⁴² Thomson, *Worcester*, p. xxvii.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xxvi-vii.

⁴⁵ Thirty-eight volumes of sermons, of s. xii^{ex}-xv^{ex} and containing hundreds of apparently unique items, remain at Worcester. At least eleven volumes are home-made and the influence of the Friars is apparent. *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

⁴⁶ Coates, *Reading*, pp. 90-1.

⁴⁷ From 1277, the General Chapters of the English Black monks issued decrees aimed at the formation of house of studies at Oxford. Abbot Robert de Burgate of Reading was closely involved in this process (*ibid.*, p. 89). The Benedictine Gloucester College was finally set up in 1283 and in 1290-1 became a priory for the whole southern province. By contrast, the Augustinian St. Mary's College was founded in 1435.

third of the century, although a house-style is not certain in the surviving volumes from this time.⁴⁸ As we saw in chapter 4, the organised campaign of copying at Llanthony Secunda during the middle decades of the twelfth century produced more easily-recognisable results. Focused copying in the 1100s at Worcester and Reading similarly produced books with characteristic features. Thirty-one twelfth-century Reading manuscripts are physically alike, and a particular type of primary display script is apparently exclusive to the abbey's books.⁴⁹ This feature is analogous to the 'Llanthony fringed style' initial, which appears only in those Llanthony books of the second quarter-to-mid twelfth century that are written in the 'Llanthony hand'. Who at Llanthony provided the direction necessary to produce a homogenous group of books is unknown, but it was presumably a precentor, supported by the scholarly priors of the time. At Reading, a potential 'director' was Robert de Sigillo, *magister scriptorii*.⁵⁰ There were two phases of copying at or for Reading in the 1100s. The homogenous manuscripts from the first are of the late 1130s-late 1140s and were probably produced under Robert de Sigillo's guidance; those of the second (1150s-70s) share some physical similarities.⁵¹ The first of these phases is coeval with focused production at Llanthony which produced the 'Llanthony hand' books; the second with the cluster of slightly later Llanthony books which resemble the 'Llanthony hand' manuscripts but lack their uniformity. At both Llanthony and Reading, the discipline necessary to produce books of homogenous appearance lasted for only a generation, with echoes of its practices then discernible for another generation. Such purposeful production is linked at both houses to the need to produce books quickly for young and expanding communities. Reading's period of organised copying occurred sooner after its foundation than did Llanthony's, probably because Reading was richer and less remote and because Llanthony's early life as an isolated hermitage and then its re-location delayed its spurt of focused production.

⁴⁸ Coates notes that, if Reading monks copied MSS in the years following its foundation, they may have learned to write elsewhere, and even those inexpert at writing may have been involved (*ibid.*, p. 55). A similar situation seems likely at Llanthony.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53, 48.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

A scriptorium at Worcester was productive throughout most of the twelfth century and made books containing distinctive 'Worcester' script and initial styles. There is some overlap between these and the decoration in books from nearby centres such as Hereford and Winchcombe and, as we have seen, Llanthony.⁵² The presence of related motifs in twelfth-century Llanthony books, in combination with the similarities between the 'Llanthony hand' and the script used at other west-country centres, suggests that both pre- and post-1130 Llanthony belonged to west-country networks of copying.⁵³

From the later 1100s onwards, it becomes harder to be precise about the origins of individual Llanthony manuscripts.⁵⁴ Many twelfth- and thirteenth-century volumes containing non-scholastic texts could have been produced in-house at Llanthony, albeit not, their appearance suggests, in such a controlled environment as the home products of the second quarter-to-mid century. Reading, where there was limited scribal activity in the 1200s, might provide a parallel.⁵⁵ Continued in-house copying at Reading and Worcester might have been promoted by the 1277 decree of the Benedictine General Chapter that monks should engage in work such as copying, binding and illuminating manuscripts. Thomson notes that Worcester books made locally between the late thirteenth century and the Dissolution are generally of a low standard and home-made appearance⁵⁶ - an observation that might equally apply to some thirteenth-century volumes of Llanthony provenance.

From c.1150 survive the first certainly professionally produced books of Llanthony provenance – glossed books of the Bible. Thereafter, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century volumes containing law and work by the Friars, Aquinas and Aristotle (material which is better represented in H460 than in Llanthony's extant manuscripts) are, by their nature, likely to have been produced in a university environ and probably reached Llanthony via student-cans, having been

⁵² Thomson notes a regional style within which a particular Worcester house-style is not always easy to discern (*Worcester*, p. xxii-iii).

⁵³ This area would repay further investigation, as would Llanthony's Irish links.

⁵⁴ Similarly, there survive 'miscellaneous' books, mostly holding texts composed after s. xii^{med}, of Reading provenance, whose origins are hard to discern (Coates, *Reading*, p. 57).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-5, 70.

⁵⁶ *Worcester*, p. xxv.

commissioned, bought or exchanged at university.⁵⁷ Pre-eminent amongst Llanthony's volumes with university links, because of the informative inscriptions therein, are those which Canon Richard Calne acquired during his early-fifteenth-century sojourn at Oxford. These embody a microcosm of the methods by which books could be acquired in such an environment. Worcester's monk-scholars acquired books by similar means. It is regrettable that so little is currently known about book provision for the study of Llanthony men at university.

Later medieval documentation demonstrates that Worcester's acquisition of books from Oxford was combined with continued book-producing activity at the cathedral itself. Books were bound, repaired and manufactured there, bought both internally and externally, and both monks and professional craftsmen were used.⁵⁸ There was an ongoing programme of repair and rebinding between the mid fifteenth century and the Dissolution.⁵⁹ The late flourishing of book-producing activity at Worcester, especially in relation to service books, is a valuable example given Llanthony's extant service and archival volumes of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, for which an in-house origin is natural.

Ex dono inscriptions in Llanthony manuscripts indicate the rôle of individuals in the formation of its book collection. Llanthony benefited throughout its existence from the literary munificence of several of its own priors and from that of external donors. Most notable amongst the latter is John Lecche, who also exemplifies the disproportionate effect that a large donation might have on our impression of the vitality and direction of a book collection at a particular time. At Llanthony, donated or personally-acquired books often contain law or theology, occasionally something rarer. Texts such as the *medica* in H460 may also represent personal impetus or interest. Even when donated volumes did not contain unusual works they enriched Llanthony's overall holdings, particularly in its later period when 'communal' collecting lessened - indeed, that such books form the bulk of Llanthony's known fourteenth- and fifteenth-century

⁵⁷ However, professional production could also occur locally (*ibid.*, p. xxv).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xxxi, xxxv-xxxvi.

⁵⁹ M. Gullick, 'The Bindings', in Thomson, *Worcester*, pp. xxxviii-xlvi, p. xxxix, xli; Thomson, *Worcester*, p. xxxvii.

acquisitions illustrates the rather piecemeal nature of collecting then. Like H460, Reading's late-twelfth-century book-list records donations by named figures, some of whom were community members, and Reading continued, like Llanthony, to receive gifts of books in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁶⁰ Aside from donors, certain individuals within these communities are likely to have been the architects of bursts of book production. At Llanthony, one thinks of men such as William de Pendebury, prior when H460 was compiled, and William of Wycombe and Clement of Llanthony, priors during the spurt of book production in the mid twelfth century. At Worcester, the energetic Bishop Wulfstan II (1062-95), to whose initiative a group of books made locally during his time can be attributed, was probably such a figure.⁶¹ Morgan of Carmarthen's inscriptions provide or bolster the Llanthony provenance of many volumes, demonstrating that individual actions are also central to determining the history of the book collection.

Llanthony's book collection was not, therefore, especially distinctive or idiosyncratic. It experienced peaks and troughs of growth: an energetic period of collecting to c.1250 occurred despite disruption and relocation, a striking testimony to the canons' continuous investment in their book collection. Although acquisitions then lessened, holdings continued to be 'topped up' by piecemeal additions and donations. The canons' collecting policy was enthusiastic but not ambitious; the focus was on accruing a good stock of basic works with duplicates in some areas. Although not of the same standing as the older, famous (and well studied) Benedictine centres of medieval England, Llanthony is highly significant as a well-preserved, 'ordinary' book collection. The survival of Llanthony's books is something of a fluke: post-Dissolution book collectors generally selected beautifully-illuminated or specialised volumes for preservation; by contrast, most of Llanthony's extant books descended wholesale through local and family ties. If Llanthony's fortuitous preservation makes it exceptional, it probably epitomises many lost medieval English religious libraries. Llanthony thus not only provides our only chance to explore an

⁶⁰ Coates, *Reading*, pp. 113-5.

⁶¹ Thomson, *Worcester*, p. xxii.

English Augustinian book collection, it also offers a more general insight into modest ecclesiastical libraries, none other of which is so well preserved.

The Book Collections of Llanthony Priory from Foundation until Dissolution (c. 1100-1538)



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Frontispiece: OTC 33, f. 53v.

Appendix 1

Handlist of Llanthony Manuscripts

This list provides basic information about the library books of Llanthony provenance employed in this thesis, viz. their shelfmark, date, chief content and criteria for medieval Llanthony provenance, plus basic bibliography. All manuscripts are described in the catalogues of the collections in which they reside; these are detailed in the main bibliography.

Key to Provenance Criteria (in chronological order):

- LH: contains writing in the twelfth-century ‘Llanthony hand’ script (chapter 4).
- LFI: contains the twelfth-century ‘Llanthony fringed style’ initial that is seemingly exclusive to the priory (chapter 4).
- Red and black title (c.1200) (chapter 5).
- numbering: of chapters etc. in the lower margin (chapter 5).
- R1. plus a number: appears in the Llanthony section of the *Registrum Anglie*, ed. Rouse and Rouse.
- A16. plus a number indicates the book’s position in H460, Llanthony Secunda’s fourteenth-century library catalogue (chapter 8).
- Lecce: bequeathed to Llanthony by John Lecce (s. xiv) (A17. plus a number indicates the book’s position in his will) (chapter 8).
- Calne: acquired for Llanthony by Richard Calne (s. xv) (chapter 9).
- MC: inscribed by Morgan of Carmarthen (s. xv) (chapter 9).

Unless noted otherwise, all manuscripts are on parchment and all texts in Latin.

Bristol,

Baptist College,

MS Z.d.5 (now Ireland, private collection) (s. xiv^{med})

Content: Rule of St. Augustine with Hugh of S.-Victor’s commentary; *expositio breuissima oracionis dominice...*; extracts concerning Augustine; material concerning the ancestry of Llanthony’s founders.

Provenance: Llanthony material. Ker’s attribution based on style.

Bibliography: Ker, *MMBL II*, pp. 190-1.

Cambridge,

Corpus Christi College,

MS 390 (c.1200) (Plates XXXI, XLII)

Content: Gerald of Wales, *Vita Gaufridi* (only copy) (incomplete; remainder in Gerald’s *Symbolum Electorum* [CTC, R.7.11(749)]).

Provenance: MC.

Fitzwilliam Museum,**McClean 145 (s. xiii^{ex}) (Plates XXXVI)****Content:** Henry of Bracton, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*.**Provenance:** metropolitan, English origin. Appended Llanthony material. A16.418.**University Library,****Dd.10.25 (c.1160) (Plate XX)****Content:** treatise on some offices of the Church (frag.); Isidore, *De differentiis*; Ambrose, *De penitentia*, *De Jacob et vita beata* & *De paradiso*; Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epistula ad Rufinum de gratia et libero arbitrio*; Prosper of Aquitaine/Pseudo-Augustine?, *Liber responsionum*; Prosper of Aquitaine, *Responsiones & Responsiones contra Gallos*; *Liber de X plagis Egypti* (= Augustine, *sermo xxi*?); Isidore, *Etymologiae* (lib.16 cap. 25-7); Pseudo- Jerome, *De membris domini*.**Provenance:** f. 6^v: *Liber Lanthon' iuxta Glouc'* (s. xiii?). R8.27. A16.152.**Cambridge, Massachusetts,****Harvard University, Houghton Library,****Typ. 194 (s. xii^{med-3/4})****Content:** Rufinus; Jerome; Athanasius; Macarius, etc.**Provenance:** Llanthony provenance doubtful; probably from Reading.**Bibliography:** H. Swarzenski *et al.*, *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts in Harvard College Library* (Cambridge, MA, 1955), no. 8; L. Light, *The Bible in the Twelfth Century: an exhibition of MSS at the Houghton Library* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), p. 108; R.G. Dennis, 'A Twelfth-Century Manuscript in Reshaped Boards', *The Marks in the Fields: Essays on the Uses of MSS*, ed. R.G. Dennis and E. Falsey (Cambridge, MA, 1992), pp. 142-44; Coates, *Reading*, pp. 50-4, 58-9, 153.**Durham,****Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library,****Inc. 58 (printed book) (London [Wynkyn de Worde], 1495)****Content:** Jerome, *Vitae patrum*.

Provenance: f. cccxxxix^r: *Robertus Runk[?con]* (a Robert Con was canon of Llanthony Secunda 1498). F. cclxxxii^r: *Humfredus JlGeram canonicus et Cell* (s. xv/xvi) (*Humffrey Jheraum*, canon of Llanthony Secunda, signed acknowledgement of Royal Supremacy 1534; *Humfry Jheram*, sub-prior, signed deed of surrender 1538).

Bibliography: *STC* (2nd edn.), ed. Pollard, Redgrave *et al*, II: no. 14507.

Hereford,

Cathedral Library, MS

P.iv.14 (1237 AD)

Content: Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (trans. Rufinus); passages concerning Origen's orthodoxy; Pseudo-Jerome, *ep. supp.* 57. Contemporary binding.

Provenance: Llanthony Prima's Irish cell of Greatconnell, County Kildare:

Explicit liber undecimus ecclesiastice hystorie. Anno ab incarnatione Domini m^o cc^o xxx^o vii^o scriptus in monasterio sancte Marie de Conal. A16.130?

Bibliography: Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, pp. xxix, 95, pl. 50.

London,

British Library, MS

Add. 24061 (s. xiv¹)

Content: Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* (plus continuation to 1203).

Provenance: f. 142^r: *Gaufridus prior Lant' consecratur* (s. xiv¹) (presumably Godfrey of Banbury of Llanthony Secunda [c.1241-1251, 1260s]).

Bibliography: Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), pp. cxx-cxxi.

Cotton, Julius D.x (s. xiii)

Content: William of Wycombe (prior 1137-c.1150), *vita* of Robert of Béthune (d.1148) (with dedication to Reginald, prior of Much Wenlock [c.1135-c.1155]); genealogy of the counts of Breckenock (*tempus* Henry I-1230) (in French); anon. chronicle of Llanthony's early history; list of Llanthony's priors.

Provenance: Llanthony material. Author and subject of *vita* were Llanthony priors. Author of chronicle doubtless a Llanthony (Prima?) canon.

Bibliography: *vita*: *Anglia Sacra*, II, pp. 295-321; *Life*, ed. Parkinson; Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 2222. Chronicle: Dugdale, *Monasticon* (ed. Caley *et al*); Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, II, pp. 295-321; Roberts, *Some Account...* Priors: Langston, 'Priors', pp. 1-144; *HRH I*, pp. 172-3; *HRH II*, pp. 413-5.

Cotton, Appendix xx (s. xiiiⁱⁿ)**Content:** Hugh of Fouilloy, *De clauastro animae*.**Provenance:** A16.320.**Cotton, App. xxiv** (s. xiii²)**Content:** William Peraldus, *Summa de uitiis et uirtutibus*.**Provenance:** f. 1^v: *Sm'al de Viciis capitalibus de dono Willi' p'ri/oris* (s. xiii²).
A16.302.**Harley 459** (s. xii^{ex})**Content:** *Officium S. Marthe*.**Provenance:** Harley MSS 459-63 formed one vol. s. xvi.**Bibliography:** Wright, *Fontes Harleiani*, pp. 215-6, 219-20.**Harley 460** (s. xiv^{med}) (Plates XXXVII-XXXVIII)**Content:** library catalogue, Llanthony Secunda.**Provenance:** Llanthony material.**Bibliography:** *Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, list A16, and as Harley 459.**Harley 461** (s. xii²)**Content:** Richard of S.-Victor, *Explanatio Visionis Ezechielis & De Templo Ezechielis*.**Provenance:** descendent of LH? As Harley 459.**Bibliography:** as Harley 459.**Harley 462** (s. xiv)**Content:** *Homiliae variae pro varijs diebus Dominicis, et Festivalibus*.**Provenance and Bibliography:** as Harley 459.**Harley 463** (s. xiv)**Content:** *Fabellae* (Jacques de Vitry?).**Provenance and Bibliography:** as Harley 459.**Lansdowne 387** (s. xiv/xv)**Content:** *lectionarium/legendarium* (Sts. Kyneburg and Kenan).**Provenance:** records Llanthony Secunda's involvement in the 1390 translation of Kyneburg's relics (f. 31).**Royal 2 C.x** (s. xii²)**Content:** Claudius Taurinensis, *Commentary on Matthew*. End-leaves from twelfth-century service book.**Provenance:** MC. Noted at Llanthony by Leland (*Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, A18.5).**Royal 2 D.v** (s. xii^{med})**Content:** Clement of Llanthony, *Commentary on Acts of the Apostles*. Sole copy.**Provenance:** author was prior of Llanthony. A16.110.**Bibliography:** Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 194.

Royal 5 B.i (s. xiiiⁱⁿ)

Content: Augustine: *De uera religione*, *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus*, *De natura boni*, *De quantitate anime*, *De libero arbitrio*, *De spiritu et anima*. Pseudo-Augustine, *Ad inquisitiones Ianuarii*.

Provenance: numbering. F. 130^v: *Lanthony and dominus Willelmus* (?) *Taverner diocesis Herefordensis in Urchinfeild, rector parochialis ecclesie sancti Thome in birchis* (s. xvi) (Birch, Herefordshire).

Royal 5 F.ix (fos. 1-56) (s. xii¹)

Content: Anselm of Canterbury, *De humanis moribus per similitudines*; Versus: *vita brevis, casusque levis* (cf. Royal 8 D.viii); Anselm (attr.), *Utrum bono bonum siue maio malum possit esse contrarium*; *De similitudine temporalis et spiritualis militis* (= *Similitudines*, cap.193); *De cellarario domini* (= *Similitudines*, cap.194); *Hic ostendit archiepiscopus quid uere appetendum sit uel quid respuendum*.

Provenance: A16.160; Theyer's ownership note (1647); Theyer sale catalogue, no. 125.

Bibliography: Gameson, *MENE*, no. 505; *Memorials*, ed. Southern and Schmitt, pp. 11, 15-16.

Royal 5 F.ix (fos. 57-196) (s. xii^{1-2/4})

Content: Anselm of Canterbury, *De libertate arbitrio*, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, *De incarnatione Verbi* & *Epistolae*.

Provenance: Theyer's ownership note of (1647); Theyer sale catalogue, no. 125.

Bibliography: Gameson, *MENE*, no. 506; *Memorials*, ed. Southern and Schmitt, pp. 11, 15-16.

Royal 8 D.viii (c.1130)

Content: 'Excepciones [*sic*] *Roberti de Bracij*' (f. 1^r): compilation of numerous theological texts/extracts for monastic use and revision of Anselm's *Similitudines*. For full contents, see Warner and Gilson, *Cat. Roy. MSS*.

Provenance: calendar records *Dedicatio ecclesiae de Lant*. (4th July), crossed out in favour of *Dedicatio ecclesiae nostrae* (10th September), referring to the dedication of Llanthony Secunda (1136). A16.233. Theyer sale catalogue, no. 116.

Bibliography: Sharpe, *Handlist* no. 1433; *Memorials*, ed. Southern and Schmitt, pp. 11-16, 296-303.

Royal 11 A.x (s. xii^{ex})

Content: Ivo of Chartres, *Epistulae*; Fulbert of Chartres, *Epistulae* (selected). Badly fire-damaged.

Provenance: F. 1^v: remains of particulars of a taxation including church of St. Owen at Gloucester (s. xiii), which Llanthony Secunda held. A16.207?

Bibliography: Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, p. 80. L.K. Barker, 'Ivo of Chartres and the Anglo-Norman Cultural Tradition', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991), pp. 15-33, p. 29.

Lambeth Palace Library,

MS 13 (s. xiv¹)

Content: Boniface VIII, *Liber Sextus*; Johannes Andreae, *Apparatus ad Sextum & Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis*; Guido de Baysio, *Summula in VI libros decreti Bonifatii VIII*; John XXII, *Extravagantes*.

Provenance: Lecce (f. ii^v): *Istud volumen Legavit m'r Johannes Leche Ecclesie Lanth' iuxta Glouc'. Cuius anima per misericordiam / dei regui/escat in pace – Amen – Qui eum alienauerit a dicta domo. anathema sit. Amen.* A17.16; A16.508/281.

MS 21 (s. xiv)

Content: Innocent IV, *Apparatus super V libros Decretalium*.

Provenance: Lecce (f. ii^v): *Istum Librum Innocencii Legavit m'r Johannes Leche Ecclesie Lanth' iuxta Glouc'. Cuius anima per misericordiam dei regui/escat in pace. Amen. Qui eum aliena / uerit a dicta domo anathema sit – amen -. A17.31/A16.277.*

MS 29 (s. xiii¹)

Content: Cassiodorus, *Commentary on Psalms* (Pss. 101-150).

Provenance: numbering. A16.54.

MS 30 (s. xiii^{ex})

Content: *Decretales novae* (with incomplete gloss of Bernard de Compostella).

Provenance: *Liber Radulfi tuperst de West [---] precio duarum marc'* (contemporary). MC.

MS 37 (s. xiii^{ex})

Content: *Digestum uetus*.

Provenance: Lecce: *Istum librum Info[erasure]atum legavit magr' Johannes de Lecch' Ecclesie Lanth' iuxta Glouc' / Cuius anima per [misericordi]am dei regui/escat in pace. amen. Qui eum alienauerit a / dicta domo. anathema sit. Amen.* (f. i^v). A17.5/A17.10?

MS 39 (s. xiii-xiv)

Content: *Leges langobardorum*; Bartholomew of Brescia, *Quaestiones dominicales et veneriales*; St. Monaldus of Ancona, *Summa*; Bernard of Compostella, *Notabilia et casus Decretalium*.

Provenance: Lecce. F. ii^v: *Istum librum legis longobardorum Legavit m'r Johannes Lech' Ecclesie Lanth' iuxta Glouc'. Cuius / anima dei regui/escat inpace [sic] [inserted interlinearly:] \Amen/. Qui eum alienauerit a dicta domo anathema sit. Amen.* A17.25.

MS 55 (fos. i, ii, 1-156, 162) (s. xiii/xiv)

Content: Aristotle, *Metaphysica*.

Provenance: *Lib' R de Glouc' canonici Lanth* (f. i^v). A16.199.

MS 56 (s. xii^{2/4})

Content: Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* (I-X).

Provenance: LH. Numbering. A16.44. MC.

Bibliography: Ker, 'Moralia' p. 83.

MS 58 (s. xiii^{ex}) (Plate XXXV)**Content:** Thomas Aquinas, *Super Quartum sententiarum*.**Provenance:** *Liber Lanthon' iux\ta/ Gloucestr' per Willm' p\ri/orem* (flyleaf) (s. xiv^{ex}/xvⁱⁿ).**MS 60 (s. xiv)****Content:** *Liber Sextus*.**Provenance:** F. ii^a (s. xv) *Iste liber pertinet ad priorem de dyneleke* (Duleek, Llanthony's Irish cell).**MS 61 (fos. 1-117) (c.1200)****Content:** Alexander Nequam, *Commentarium in Psalmos*.**Provenance:** numbering. A16.51.**Bibliography:** Hunt, *Schools and Cloister*, pp. 30-1.**MS 63 (s. xii/xiii) (Plate XXX)****Content:** *Psalterium* (Peter Lombard's gloss).**Provenance:** i^f: (s. xiii?): *Per(?) R. Decani Psalterium petri Lumbardi Liber Lanthonie iuxta Gloucestr'*. A16.48.**Bibliography:** decoration in style of other west-country books (Thomson 'Minor MS Decoration', pp. 21-3 ['Style 1']).**MS 68 (s. xiv) (Plate XXXIX)****Content:** William Durandus the Elder, *Rationale diuinorum officiorum*.**Provenance:** Lecce: *Istum librum Legauit m'r Johe' Lech' Ecclesie Lanth' iux\ta/ Glouc' – Cuius / anima per misericordiam dei req\ui/escat [next two words inserted interlinearly:] in pace – amen – Qui eum alienauerit a dicta domo ana / thema sit – Amen.* - - (front flyleaf). Above (partially erased): *Racionale diuinorum officiorum p[re]t[er]...lanthonie*. A17.42.**MS 70 (s. xiv)****Content:** Walter Burley: *Expositio super Artem ueterem, De puritate artis logicae, tractatus longior, Quaestiones de uniuersalibus, Notabilia de logicis* (11 tracts), *De potentiis animae, De formis, Summa librorum Elenchorum, Expositio libri de motu animalium, De planetis et eorum uirtute, Expositio libri Posteriorum, Expositio super libros Topicorum*. William of Ockham, *Commentary on Aristotle's Elenchi sophistici*. Anon., *De sensibus*.**Provenance:** Calne: *Liber monasterii siue prioratus lanthonie iux / ta gloucestriam emptus per fratrem Ricar / dum calne eiusdem loci canonicum et scolarem / anno domini milesimo quadringentesimo ter / ciodecimo et qui eum a predicta domo absque / licencia prioris et eiusdem loci conuentus alie / nauerit anathema sit fiat [flourish] fiat [flourish] .amen. [flourish]* (f. 305^v).**MS 71 (fos. i, 1-118) (s. xiii¹)****Content:** Peter Cantor, *Commentary on the Psalms***Provenance:** A16.49. F. 1 (s. xv): *psalterium sec. cantorem parisiensem de l'armario primi gradus*.

MS 71 (fos. 119-222) (s. xii/xiii)**Content:** Stephen Langton *Super Isaiam*.**Provenance:** 120^v: *Rob\ol de Leckoford canonico Lantoniensi* (s. xiii). A16.150.**MS 74 (1391 AD)****Content:** Walter Burley: *Commentary* on Averroes's *De substantia orbis*, *De planetis et eorum uirtute*, on Aristotle's *Libri naturales*, *De potentiis animae*.**Provenance:** Calne (f. 1^r).**Bibliography:** Robinson, *DDLL*, I, no. 52; II, pl. 68.**MS 77 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ)****Content:** Ezechiel, Daniel glossed.**Provenance:** numbering. A16.17.**MS 80 (fos. 168-244) (s. xiii)****Content:** Bernardus Papiensis, *Breuiarium*; John of Cornwall, *De homine assumpto*.**Provenance:** MC.**MS 81 (s. xii/xiii) (Plate XXVIII)****Content:** Job, Daniel glossed.**Provenance:** red and black title. Numbering. A16.18.**Bibliography:** decoration in style of other west-country books (Thomson, 'Minor MS Decoration', pp. 21-3 ['Style 1']).**MS 83 (s. xiii¹)****Content:** Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*.**Provenance:** f. 214^v: i) *Lantony* ii) *Liber Lanthonie iuxta Gloucestriam* iii) *liber beate marie de lanthony iuxta Gloucestriam* iv) -.ff. R.C.- (Calne?). *Cautio* (*canonici lanthon. [----] in cista* [1412]). A16.266/A16.490?**MS 85 (s. xii^{ex}) (Plate XXVII)****Content:** *Libri Regum glosati*.**Provenance:** red and black title. Numbering. A16.31.**Bibliography:** decoration in style of other west-country books (Thomson, 'Minor MS Decoration', pp. 21-3 ['Style 1']).**MS 95 (s. xii^{med})****Content:** Augustine, *De Genesim ad litteram*.**Provenance:** R1.51. A16.189-90.**MS 96 (fos. 113-244) (s. xii²)****Content:** Gregory, *Homiliae XL in Evangelia*.**Provenance:** flyleaf (s. xv): *Iste liber constat ecclesie conuentuali la[n]thon. prime in Wallia*. On right: *ex mutuo conceditur decano herford*. Formerly one vol. with LP 145 (fos. 257-64) (common hand; pin marks).

MS 97 (s. xiii^{ex})

Content: Thomas Aquinas: *Super Metaphysica, De causis, De anima, De sensu et sensato, De memoria et reminiscencia.*

Provenance: Calne: *liber monasterij siue prioratus lanthonie / iuxta gloucestriam emptus per ffratrem / Ricardum Calne eiusdem loci canonicum / et scolarem anno domini milesimo quadrin / gentesimo quintodecimo et qui eum absque / eiusdem loci prioris et conuentus concensu / alienauerit anathema sit* [flourish]. *fiat.* [flourish] *fiat.* Amen. [flourish].

MS 101 (s. xii^{2/4})

Content: John Cassian, *Collationes XXIV.*

Provenance: LH. LFI. A16.217. MC.

Bibliography: Thomson, 'Gloucester', pp. 5, 21, n.14.

MS 102 (s. xii/xiii) (Plate XXIX)

Content: Luke, John glossed.

Provenance: produced at St. Albans? Numbering. A16.22.

Bibliography: James, *Catalogue*; Thomson, *St. Albans*, pp.127 (no. 94), 129 n. 26, 127; Parker McLachlan, 'Pembroke College New Testament', pp. 9-10.

MS 103 (s. xiii^{ex}) (Plate XLIII)

Content: *Decretales novae cum glossa ordinaria; Constitutiones Innocencii pape iii; Gregory X, Constitutiones; Nicholai III, Constitutiones* (glossed).

Provenance: French? F. i^v: *Liber decretalium ecclesie beate marie Lanthonie iuxta Gloucestriam* (s. xv^{ex}).

MS 106 (s. xii^{med}) (Plate XVIII)

Content: Cyprian, *Epistulae.*

Provenance: related to LH. F.1^r (s. xii): *LIBeR Lanthonien / sis ecclesie. Qui eum Deti / nueRit : Anathema sit* (same hand/wording as LP 189 & OQC 309). A16.205.

MS 110 (s. xii^{ex})

Content: *Exodus glosatus.*

Provenance: numbering. A16.30.

Bibliography: decoration in style of other west-country books (Thomson, 'Minor MS Decoration', pp. 21-3 ['Style 1']). Gullick, 'How fast...?', p. 50.

MS 111 (s. xiii^{ex})

Content: Giles of Rome, *Super librum de generacione et corrupcione, Super librum de anima.*

Provenance: Calne: *liber monasterij sive prioratus lanthonie / iuxta gloucestriam emptus per fratrem / Ricardus Calne eiusdem loci canonicus et scola - / rem anno dni milesimo quadringentesimo / quartodecimo. et qui eum alienauerit .a. do - / mo predicta absque licencia eiusdem domus / prioris et conuentus anathema sit. fiat. fiat / amen* [flourish] (f. 137^v).

MS 114 (s. xii²) (Plate XXV)**Content:** *Judicum, Esther, Tobias, Judith* glossed.**Provenance:** numbering. A16.23. One vol. with LP 153 (fos.1-6).**MS 115 (s. xivⁱⁿ)****Content:** Peter Lombard, *Sentences*; table thereon.**Provenance:** formerly one vol. with LP 129, therefore A17.30 (Lecche).**MS 119 (s. xii^{ex}) (Plates XXII-XXIII)****Content:** John of Llanthony, *In Apocalypsim*. Only copy.**Provenance:** author was sub-prior of Llanthony. Variation of LFI. Numbering. A16.132. Binding leaves now LP 1229 (nos. 7, 8).**Bibliography:** Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 771.**MS 122 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ)****Content:** Leontius Neapolitanus, *Vita S. Iohannis Eleemosynarii* (trans. Anastasius Bibliothecarius); Peter Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum & Summa de sacramentis et anime consiliis* (chapters 1-4, 153); John of Cornwall, *De homine assumpto*; William de Montibus, *De tropis S. Scripturae*; three folios on figures of speech; references to text of Jeremiah.**Provenance:** *Memoriale Lanton de Gloucestr. pro... de haimo* (erased).

A16.163. LP 142 (fos. 120-22) was formerly part of LP 122.

MS 128 (s. xiv) (Plate XLIII)**Content:** John Monachus, gloss on the *Decretals* and *Sext*.**Provenance:** f. i^v: *Istum librum magister Nicholaus Kaerwent legau\itl ecclesie beate marie / lanthon' iux\ta/ Glouc'. cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen'*. (d. 1467).**Bibliography:** *BRUO to 1500*, p. 353.**MS 129 (s. xiv)****Content:** John Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa* (tr. Burgundio of Pisa); Pseudo-Augustine, *Categoriae X*; Prosper (Julianus Pomerius), *De vita contemplatiua*; Aur. Augustine (Prosper of Aquitaine), *De uera innocencia* (= Prosper, *Sententiae ex operibus S. Augustini*); Ambrose, *Hexaemeron*; Hugh of S.-Victor, Homilies on Ecclesiastes, *De beatae Mariae uirginitate*; Ambrose, *De fide*, *De uirginitate*, *De uiduis*, *De uirginibus & Exhortatio uirginitatis*, *De mysteriis*, *De sacramentis*, *De fuga saeculi*. Ps-Ambrose, *De lapsu uirginis consecratae*.**Provenance:** Lecche: *Istud volumen Legauit m'r Johannes Lech' Ecclesie. / Lanth' iux\ta/ Glouc' - Cuius anima per misericordiam dei r\e/q\ui/escat in pace - Amen - / Qui eum alienauerit a dicta domo. anathema [m has been inserted interlinearly] sit - Amen -* - (f. i^v). A17.30. Formerly one vol. with LP 115.**MS 134 (fos. 97-245) (s. xii^{3/4}) (Plate XXIV)****Content:** *Jeremias, Threni* (i.e. the Lamentations of Jeremiah) glossed.**Provenance:** numbering. A16.24. Formerly one vol. with LP 153 (fos. 7-88) and LP 200 (fos. 168-75).

MS 137 (s. xiv)

Content: Peter of Limoges, *Oculus moralis*; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*.

Provenance: Lecce (A17.41).

MS 138 (fos. i, ii, 1-44) (s. xii^{ex})

Content: Seneca, *De beneficiis*, *De Clementia*; Pseudo-Seneca, *De Paupertate*; Martin of Braga, *Formula vitae honestae*.

Provenance: MC.

MS 141 (s. xiii) (Plate XLI)

Content: Augustine, *De Trinitate*; Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux, *Planctus Mariae* (extracted from Ogier of Locedio's *De laudibus sanctae Dei genitricis*).

Provenance: Calne: *Caucio domini Ric' Calne canonici lanth' iux\ta/ Glouc' exposita in cista communi canonicorum Oxon' in festo Sci' Petri ap'l' quod dicitur cathedra / pro xiiij s' iiij d' ann\o/ regni regis henric' . quinti post conquestum octauo*.

MS 142 (fos. 1-119) (s. xii^{ex})

Content: abridgement of Peter of Poitiers's *Sententiae*.

Provenance: exemplar for WCL F.50 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ; probably made at Llanthony Secunda).

Bibliography: Thomson, *Worcester*, p. 31; Rathbone, 'Peter of Corbeil in an English Setting', pp. 288-9, 291-6, 298.

MS 142 (fos. 120-22^r) (s. xiii)

Content: biblical references to the words of the Psalms (I-XV).

Provenance: formerly part of LP 122.

MS 145 (fos. i, ii, 1-137) (s. xvⁱⁿ)

Content: Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *opus imperfectum in Matthaem*.

Provenance: Calne: *Liber lanthonie iuxta Gloucestriam emptus / per fratrem Ricardum Calne tempore quo fuit / scholaris Oxonie et qui eum a predicta do / mo absque licencia prioris et conuentus / eiusdem domus alienauerit anathema / sit. fiat fiat. Amen* [flourish] (f. 135^r). Above the explicit is *Lanthoni iuxta Glouc*.

Bibliography: Robinson, *DDLL*, I no. 57; II pl. 83.

MS 145 (fos. 257-64) (s. xii^{med})

Content: *Homiliae* (associated with Origen and Bede).

Provenance: related to LH. Formerly one vol. with LP 96 (fos. 113-244) (common hand; pin mark), therefore once at Llanthony Prima.

MS 146 (s. xii^{med})

Content: Ambrose, *Super Lucam*.

Provenance: may share scribe with LP 148. Resembles LP 148; shares many characteristics with LP 147. A16.125.

MS 147 (fos. 60-179) (s. xii^{med})

Content: Bede, *Super Marcum*; *Expositio canonis missae*.

Provenance: hand extremely like LP 148. Shares features with LP 146. A16.138.

MS 148 (s. xii^{med})

Content: Bede *super Genesim*; Alcuin *Quaestiones*.

Provenance: script related to LH. Same scribe as LP 146? A16.202-3. *Ex libris* (s. xv) on binding now LP 1229 no. 10. MC.

Bibliography: CCSL CXVIII A, ed. Jones, p. v.

MS 149 (fos. 139-240) (s. xii/xiii)

Content: Augustine, *Enchiridion*, *Sermo de penitentia* (sermo 393), *In epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus X*; Vita S. Edwardi regis et martiris; Pseudo-Augustine, *De paenitentia* (sermo 351); Hugh of S.-Victor, *De institutione nouiciorum*.

Provenance: R1.291. A16.192.

Bibliography: Fell, *Edward, King and Martyr*, sigla Lb, p. vii.

MS 150 (s. xivⁱⁿ)

Content: Nicholas Trevet, *De Officio Missae*; Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum*, *De peccato originali*.

Provenance: Lecce: *Istum librum Legauit m'r Johannes Lech' Ecclesie Lanth' iuxta Glouc'*. *Cuius anima / per misericordiam dei requiescat in pace - Amen - Qui eum alienauerit a dicta domo. / anathema sit - fiat fiat Amen - - -* (f. 1^v). A17.13.

MS 151 (fos. 210-335) (s. xiii^l)

Content: Rule of St. Augustine; Hugh of S.-Victor, *De institutione nouiciorum*; Clement of Llanthony(?), *Meditationes de beata virgine* (sole copy); Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux, *Planctus Mariae* (see LP 141); Pseudo-Augustine, *De diligendo deo*; Pseudo-Augustine, *De Concordia Fratrum* (Pauli Constantinopolitani episcopi epistola ad Theodorum Romanum pontificem).

Provenance: A16.180.

Bibliography: Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 194.

MS 152 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ)

Content: Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* (XI-XXII).

Provenance: probably copied from OTC 40. A16.44.

Bibliography: Ker, 'Moralia'.

MS 153 (fos. 1-6) (s. xii^{med-3/4})

Content: *Praef. in Bibliam*.

Provenance: formerly one vol. with LP 114.

MS 153 (fos. 7-88) (s. xii^{med-3/4})

Content: *Isaias* glossed.

Provenance: numbering; formerly one vol with LP 134 (fos. 97-245) and LP 200 (fos. 168-75).

MS 153 (fos. 156-79) (s. xiii)

Content: Luke glossed.

Provenance: A16.68. MC. Formerly one volume with LP 200 (fos. 176-217).

MS 161 (s. xii/xiii)**Content:** Bernard of Clairvaux *super Cantica canticorum*.**Provenance:** script a descendent of LH? Numbering. A16.142. Corrected against LP 452.**Bibliography:** *Sancti Bernardi Opera: Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, ed. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, H.M. Rochais, 2 vols., (Rome, 1957-8), I, p. lv; *MLGB*, p. 110, n. 1.**MS 164** (s. xii¹) (Plate XIX)**Content:** Pauline Epistles glossed (gloss of Anselm of Laon).**Provenance:** same scribe as LP 170, therefore possibly written in France.

Variation of LFI. Numbering. A16.161-2.

MS 165 (fos. 102-90) (s. xiiiⁱⁿ)**Content:** Geoffrey Babio, *Sermones*.**Provenance:** A16.224. MC.**MS 170** (s. xii¹)**Content:** *Psalterium* (gloss of Anselm of Laon).**Provenance:** produced in Northern France; same scribe as LP 164. Formerly one vol. with LP 200 (fos. 164-7).**MS 173 (fos. 1-156)** (1100-30)**Content:** Pseudo-Hegesippus, *Historiae libri V de bello iudaico*.**Provenance:** A16.131.**Bibliography:** Gameson, *MENE*, no. 588.**MS 173 (fos. 157-222)** (1110-30)**Content:** Ephraim the Syrian, *Vita S. Abrahae*; James the Deacon (Eustochius), *Vita S. Pelagiae*; *Vita S. Fursei*; *Visio Fulradi*; *Visio Baronti*; *Visio Wettini*; *Visio Drihthelmi* (ex Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V, 12); *Visiones* (ex Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V, 13-14); *De Antigono et Eufraxia*.**Bibliography:** Gameson, *MENE*, no. 589.**MS 173 (fos. 223-32)** (1090-1110)**Content:** *Sermo in die omnium sanctorum*.**Bibliography:** Gameson, *MENE*, no. 590.**MS 189** (s. xii^{2/4})**Content:** Hugh of S.-Victor, *De Sacramentis II*.**Provenance:** LH. Shares scribe with OTC 33 and Rawl. A.374. F. 2^r (s. xii): *Liber Lantoniensis eccle*'. *Qui / eum [d]etinueRit [next two words erased:] anathema sit* (same hand/wording as LP 106 and OQC 309). A16.226.**Bibliography:** Ker, *English MSS*, p. x.**MS 195** (s. xii^{med}) (Plate XIV)**Content:** Priscian, *Grammatica*, I-XVI.**Provenance:** f. 1 (partly erased): ... *dono Gauf. Men. epi.* (Geoffrey de Hennelawe, prior c.1185 x 89-1203). MC.

MS 196 (s. xii^{2/4})**Content:** Priscian, *Grammatica*.**Provenance:** F. ii^v (s. xiv): *Liber Lanthonie iuxta Gloucestr. qui eum alienauerit anathema sit...* A16.392.**MS 200 (fos. 114-63)** (s. xiii-xiv)**Content:** note on Holy Land; pencil lists of Biblical books; *distinctiones* on Psalter; notes on Old Testament; exposition of Lord's Prayer and Creed.**Provenance:** f. 114^v: *Iste liber est [erasure] p\ri/oris Lanth' p\ri/me* (c.1300?). A16.66. MC.**MS 200 (fos. 164-7)** (s. xii-xiii)**Content:** *letanie*.**Provenance:** liturgical evidence. Once part of LP 170.**MS 200 (fos. 168-75)** (s. xii)**Content:** '*sermo de latrone crucifixo*'; Gospel of St. Nichodemus (apocryphal).**Provenance:** formerly one vol. with LP 134 (fos. 97-245) and LP 153 (fos. 7-88).**MS 200 (fos. 176-217)** (s. xii)**Content:** *sermones*.**Provenance:** formerly one volume with LP 153 (fos. 156-70).**MS 208** (s. xii²)**Content:** *Isaias* glossed.**Provenance:** red and black title. MC.**MS 215** (s. xii²)**Content:** Athanasius of Alexandria, *De unitate Trinitatis* (including fragments of the works of Vigilius of Thapsus?); Augustine, *De heresibus*, *De fide et symbolo*, *Contra Felicianum Arianum de unitate trinitatis*; Jerome, *Explanatio fidei* (Römer, *Überlieferung*, II/2, p. 210); *De recte fidei confessione sec. toletanum concilium primum*; William of Champeaux, *Ratiocinatio quod diuina essentia nullas suscipiat formas. cum omnis forma prior sit naturaliter eo quod informat*; *De plenitudine fidei catholice sec. toletanum concilium sextum*; *De fidei rectitudine sec. toletanum concilium xi^{mum}*; Nicene creed.**Provenance:** F. i (s. xiii): *Memoriale de Lantonía*. MC.**MS 217 (fos. 86-126)** (s. xiii) (Plate XL)**Content:** Matthew glossed.**Provenance:** A16.63. F. 86^r: *DE V\to/ g\ra/du p\ri/mj arm[arii]*. F. 86^v (erased): *Memorial' mag. R. d\e/ merkley. pro....***MS 218 (fos. 1-89)** (s. xii^{2/4-med} [fos. 4-63]; s. xii^{med-3/4} [fos. 64-88])**Content:** Gregory, *Liber Pastoralis*.**Provenance:** fos. 4-59^v influenced by Kentish exemplar? A16.127. MC.**MS 227** (s. xiiiⁱⁿ)**Content:** *Commentarium in Psalterium*.**Provenance:** MC.

MS 231 (s. xii^{2/4-med}) (Plate XLII)**Content:** *Mattheus glosatus*.**Provenance:** English/northern French. MC.**MS 239** (s. xii^{ex}) (before 1174?) (Plate XXI)**Content:** Clement of Llanthony, *In Epistolas Catholicas*. Sole copy.**Provenance:** Clement was prior of Llanthony. F. i^r: ...*lant*' (s. xii^{ex}). A16.111.**Bibliography:** Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 194; Robinson, *DDLL*, I no. 67; II, pl. 16; Wakefield, 'Edition and Commentary on Clement of Llanthony's Commentary on the Catholic Epistles'.**MS 335 (fos. 1-228)** (s. xiii)**Content:** *Proverbia*, *Cantica canticorum* glossed; two copies of Ecclesiastes glossed (one with the gloss of Hugh of S.-Victor); Wisdom (occasionally glossed).**Provenance:** numbering. *de primo armar' 4 g\ra/d'* (s. xv; f. 33^r). A16.33. A16.82.**MS 336** (s. xii^{2/4-3/4})**Content:** Augustine, *Confessiones*.**Provenance:** descendent of LH MSS. Similar hand to LP 337 and LP 339.Copied from LP 365 (fos. 1-119) (Webber, 'Diffusion of Augustine's *Confessions*', pp. 35-6).**MS 337** (s. xii^{2/4-3/4})**Content:** Augustine: *Retractationes*, *De gratia novi testamenti*, *De utilitate credendi*.**Provenance:** descendent of LH MSS. Similar hand to LP 336 and LP 339. A16.193.**MS 339** (c.1130-60) (Plate XV)**Content:** Porphyry, *Isagoge*; Boethius, *Categories*, *De interpretatione*, *De divisione* (with fragment of Aristotle, *Topica IV* embedded in it), *De differentiis topicis*, *De syllogismis categoricis*, *De syllogismis hypotheticis*. M. Victorinus, *De definitionibus*. Cicero, *Topica*.**Provenance:** descendent of LH MSS. Hand similar to LP 336 and LP 337. F. 1^r: *Supplementum ric' de wokesey* (erased). F. i^v: *Iste liber est de procuracione dni' Walteri de langeneye de conuentu lantonie iuxta gloucestr* (erased) (candidate in disputed prior elections 1324). F. 174^v: *LIBER LANTHONIE IUXTA / GLOUCESTRIAM*. A16.324.**Bibliography:** Gibson and Smith, *Codices Boethiani*, pp. 162-3.**MS 343** (s. xii^{ex})**Content:** *Deuteronomy*, *Josue* glossed. Twelfth-/thirteenth-century binding (identical to that of LP 349).**Provenance:** numbering. Red and black title. A16.25.

MS 345 (fos. 97-227) (s. xii^{2/4})

Content: Gregory the Great, *Registrum* (excerpts); *ex decrete Gregorii pape; ex decreto Urbani pape.*

Provenance: A16.121. MC.

MS 349 (s. xii¹)

Content: *Genesis* glossed. Remnants of twelfth-/thirteenth-century binding (identical to that of LP 343).

Provenance: written in northern France. Red and black title. *De tercio gradu primi armarii* (back cover) (A16.32).

Bibliography: De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, p. 17.

MS 356 (fos. 125-75) (s. xiii)

Content: *Ep. Damasi pape ad Ieronimum presb.* (ep. 22) (plus letters 30 and 73); Jerome, *In Libro questionum hebraicarum super genesim*; *Ep. Jerome ad Rufinum presb. de iudicio Salomonis*; *Questiones in libros regum*; *Questiones Ieronimi super paralipomenon*; *Interpretationes nominum. Sermo Petri manducatoris in nativitate S. Iohannis baptiste.*

Provenance: formerly one vol. with LP 380 (fos. 1-120), therefore once at Llanthony Prima.

MS 356 (fos. 176-283) (s. xii^{med})

Content: Anselm of Canterbury (*Cur deus homo, De conceptu uirginali, Monologion, Proslogion, Contra insipientem*).

Provenance: A16.166.

MS 357 (s. xv)

Content: Richard Rolle, *Parvum Iob siue Libellus in nouem lectiones mortuorum; cronica cuiusdam amici veritatis in argumentum fundacionis canonicorum Regularium S. Augustini doctoris...*; Hugh of Snaith, *Ars praedicandi*; Hugh of S.-Victor: *De laude Caritatis, De vii viciis, Quot modis impugnatur humilitas*; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Meditaciones de lamentacione marie et passione filii sui*; two texts entitled *De validis mendicantibus; encomial/testimonia* to St. Augustine; Nigel Witeker, *Speculum stultorum*; Office of St. Kenan.

Provenance: Kenan the patron saint of Duleek, Llanthony's Irish cell. F. 111^r: *Joh' Batte* (s. xvi^{in?}) (one of that name kitchener and sub-prior of Llanthony Secunda in the later 1400s). Formerly one vol. with LP 379 (fos. 1-68).

MS 360 (fos. 1-118) (s. xii-xiii)

Content: *Distinctiones in Psalmos; Notae super Johannem; Note super iohannem sec. magistrum Gilbertum*; notes on places of Scripture; notes on Psalms & Job; Peter Comestor's sermon for Lent; *De Diaconibus. Diaconorum ordo sexto, Presbiterorum ordo, De indumentorum sacerdotalium significatione, De conuenientia uet. ac noui sacerdocii cuius supra, Quid signum mystice orationes sacerdotum [sic]*; Hildebertus, *de officio missae*; quire from treatise on the Virgin; Jerome's prol. to Job.

Provenance: MC.

MS 365 (fos. i, ii, 1-119) (s. xiiⁱⁿ)**Content:** Augustine of Hippo, *Confessiones*.**Provenance:** exemplar for LP 336 (Webber, 'Diffusion of Augustine's *Confessions*', pp. 35-6). A16.179. MC. Formerly one vol. with LP 392 (fos. 116-31) and LP 431 (fos. 161-82).**MS 365 (fos. 120-228) (s. xii^{2/4}) (Plate X)****Content:** Augustine of Hippo, *De doctrina christiana*; Pseudo-Augustine, *Contra Felicianum*.**Provenance:** LH. A16.182.**MS 370 (s. xvⁱⁿ) (Plate XLI)****Content:** Peter Partridge, *tabula* to Snettisham's abbreviation of Cowton on the *Sentences*. Richard Snettisham, *Cowton in Sententias abbreviatus*. Fifteenth-century binding.**Provenance:** Calne: *Liber monasterii siue p\ri/oratus lanthonie iuxta gloucestriam emptus / per fratrem Ricardum Calne eiusdem loci canonicum et scolarem . anno domini / millesimo CCCC .xviii. et qui eum a predicta domo absque licencia p\ri/oris / uel conuentus eiusdem alienauerit anathema sit. fiat [flourish] fiat [flourish] . Amen [two flourishes] (f. 16^v).***Bibliography:** Robinson, *DDLL*, I, no. 75; II, pl. 96.**MS 372 (fos. 1-41) (s. xii²)****Content:** Augustine, *De fide et symbolo* & extract from *Retractationes*, *Sermo de periurio* (sermo 180), *Sermo de eo quod dicit apostolus semper gaudete...* (sermo 171?), *Sermo exhortatorius ad populum* (sermo 391?), *De urbis excidio*. Pseudo-Augustine, *ad Inquisitiones Ianuarii*.**Provenance:** R1.17. A16.184.**MS 372 (fos. 42-82) (s. xii^{2/4})****Content:** Augustine: *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, *Sermo de utilitate agende penitentie*.**Provenance:** LH. LFI.**MS 372 (fos. 83-139) (s. xii²)****Content:** Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus lxxxiii*.**Provenance:** former binding leaves now LP 1229 (nos. 14, 15).**MS 375 (s. xiv)****Content:** Albert of Brescia, *De amore et dilectione Dei*, *De doctrina dicendi et tacendi*, *De consolatione et consilio*, *Sermo de S. Agatha*, *Sermo factus super illuminatione*, *Sermo secundus quem Albertanus composuit inter Fratres Minores Brixenses*, *Sermo factus ad cognoscendum que sint necessaria in convivio*, *Sermo de S. Agatha quem Albertanus composuit et edidit inter causidicas Brixenses*.**Provenance:** Lecce: *Istum libellum Legauit m'r Johannes Lech' Ecclesie Lanth' iux\ta/ / Glouc' - Cuius anima per misericordiam dei r\e/q\ui/escat in pace - Amen / Q\ui/ eum alienauerit a dicta domo: anathema sit - Amen.* (f. i^v). A17.48.

MS 377 (s. ix^{2/4}) (Plate VII)

Content: Isidore of Seville, *De summo bono*.

Provenance: made at Tours. In England s. x. F. 2^v: correction s. x^{ex}-xiⁱⁿ in Canterbury-style 'Squarish' Caroline. F. 16^r: intervention in English hand s. xii¹. Pen-trial (f. 169^v: *Aequore congelido zephyrus fert xenia kymbe[?]*) in continental-type hand (s. xi-xiiⁱⁿ) (cf. LP 335). A16.147? MC.

Bibliography: Ker, *Cat. Anglo-Saxon*, no. 279. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, II, p. 126.

MS 378 (fos. i, ii, 1-56) (s. xii-xiii)

Content: Alcuin, *De uirtutibus et uitiis*; Basil, *De doctrina christiana*; *De admonitione profectus anime*; *Sermo de corpore [et] sanguine*; *De ornamentis amine*.

Provenance: A16.387. MC.

MS 378 (fos. 122-64) (s. xii^{1-2/4}) (Plate IX)

Content: Pseudo-Hegesippus, *Historiae libri V de bello iudaico*.

Provenance: bound with LP 378 (fos. 1-56) by s. xv (MC).

Bibliography: Gameson, *MENE*, no. 594.

MS 379 (fos. 1-68) (s. xii²)

Content: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britannie*.

Provenance: formerly one vol. with LP 357.

Bibliography: J.C. Crick, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989), no.120.

MS 380 (fos. 1-120) (s. xii^{ex})

Content: Isidore of Seville, *De lapsis*, *De summo bono*; Bede, *Super Mulierem fortem*.

Provenance: F. 114^v: *Hic liber est scriptus qui composuit sit benedictus. quod Amou\er\ley* (s. xv) - therefore Llanthony Prima (cf. OCCC 83). Formerly one vol. with LP 356 (fos. 125-75).

MS 380 (fos. 121-228) (s. xii²)

Content: Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*; *Ordo officiorum qui agitur in ecclesia Romana*; Amalarius of Metz, *Liber officialis*; Ivo of Chartres, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*.

Provenance: f. 121^r: *liber lantonie*. R8.3. A16.153.

MS 389 (s. xii/xiii)

Content: Jerome, *Interpretationes nominum Hebraicorum*; *Glossarium*.

Provenance: A16.89?

MS 390 (s. xiii^{ex})

Content: William Peraldus, *Summa de uitiis et uirtutibus*; *Concordantie S. themata*; headings and notes for sermons.

Provenance: MC.

MS 391 (s. xii^{2/4-med}) (Plate XVI)**Content:** Geoffrey Babio, *Sermones*.**Provenance:** related to LH. F. 1^r (contemporary) *Liber Lanthonie iuxta Gloucestriam*. A16.224.**MS 392 (fos. 29-58)** (s. xiiiⁱⁿ)**Content:** Richard of Wetheringsett, *Summa Qui bene praesunt*; Gregory the Great, *Libellus responsionum* (extract); extracts from Augustine.**Provenance:** A16.317. Formerly one vol with LP 409.**MS 392 (fos. 116-31)** (s. xii^{ex})**Content:** *De significacionibus rerum*.**Provenance:** named in list of contents prefixed (wrongly) to LP 365. Formerly one vol. with LP 365 (fos. i, ii, 1-119) and LP 431 (fos. 161-82).**MS 393** (s. xvⁱⁿ: between 1412 and 1421)**Content:** William Penbegyll, *Uniuersalia*, *Diuisio entis*, *Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge*; John Sharpe, *Quaestio super uniuersalia*; Robert Allington, *Literalis sententia super Praedicamenta*; William Milverley, *Commentary on De Sex principiis*; John Tarteys, *Problema correspondens libello Porphyrii*, *De figuris*.**Provenance:** Calne: f. 10^v; *Liber monasterii siue p\ri/oratus lanthonie iuxta / Gloucestriam quem partim sc\ri/psit et partim sc\ri/bi / fecit Frater Ricardus Calne eiusdem loci ca / nonicus tempore quo fuit scholaris Oxonie et q\ui/ / eum a predicta domo absque licencia prioris et / conuentus eiusdem alienauerit Anathema / sit. fiat. fiat Amen. [flourish] (f. 243^v).***Bibliography:** Robinson, *DDLL*, I no. 76; II pls. 84-5.**MS 394** (s. xiii²) (Plate XXXIV)**Content:** Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio*; *Quaestiones de anima rationali*; *Quaestiones de rebus*; *Questiones de angelis*; *Questiones de demonibus*.**Provenance:** A16.225. MC.**MS 395 (fos. i, ii, 1-52, 141-72)** (s. xii/xiii)**Content:** *Hester*, *Judith*, *Ruth*, *Apocalypsis* glossed.**Provenance:** A16.40.**MS 396** (s. xvⁱⁿ: between 1413 and 1421)**Content:** John Sharpe, *Quaestiones on Aristotle's Physica*, *Quaestiones on Aristotle's De anima*; anon. *quaestiones on libros de Meteoris*.**Provenance:** Calne: *Liber monasterii siue p\ri/oratus lanthonie iuxta Glou / cestriam que' partim sc\ri/psit et partim sc\ri/bi fecit Frater / Ricardus Calne eiusdem loci canonicus tempore quo fuit / scholaris Oxonie. Et qui eum a predicta domo absque licencia / p\ri/oris et conuentus eiusdem alienauerit anathema sit. fiat / fiat. Amen (f. 179^v) (also fos. 130^v, 276^v).***Bibliography:** Robinson, *DDLL*, I, no. 77; II, pl. 86.

MS 397 (fos. 1-104) (s. xii^{2/4}) (Plate XI)**Content:** Ailred of Rievaulx, *Speculum Caritatis*.**Provenance:** LH. LFI. MC.**Bibliography:** CCCM 1, ed. Hoste and Talbot, pp. xv-xvi.**MS 397 (fos. 105-128) (s. xii^{2/4})****Content:** Hugh of S.-Victor, *De institutione noviciorum*, *De oratione*.**Provenance:** with LP 397 (fos. 1-104) by s. xv (MC).**MS 398 (s. xiii²)****Content:** Praepositinus de Cremona (Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 4.872 no. 33); anonymous sermons; *Saluatorem expectamus* (cf. WCL Q.11); Richard of Wetheringsett, *Summa Qui bene praesunt*; extract from *Gesta Pilati* and *Descensus ad inferos* (e.g. 'Gospel of Nichodemus'); Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae(?)*; *Concordantiae*; theological extract and notes; *Angelus. purus in natura reconciliator* (cf. Royal 7 C.v); Raymond of Penafort, *Summa de paenitentia*; William Mesel, *De septem artibus* (only copy).**Provenance:** Once in Ireland? A16.317. MC.**Bibliography:** Mesel: James, *Catalogue*; Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 2125.**MS 408 (fos. 20-141) (s. xii²)****Content:** *Sermones* (first sermon: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo 3 in dominica palmarum*).**Provenance:** A16.101. Formerly one vol. with LP 431 (fos. 146-60).**MS 409 (s. xiii^{ex}-xiv)****Content:** Geraldus Bituricensis, *Summa de modo medendi*; text on compounding medicines (incipit matches Copho[?], *De conficiendis medicinis*); *Quoniam disputationem simplicis medicine (Liber de gradibus simplicium* [?Isaac Iudaeus, trans. Constantinus Africanus]? although labelled Platearius in the MS); John de S. Amando, *Super antidotarium*; tract on surgery (expl. *noua cyrurgia mag. Lamfranci mediolanensis*); verses on medical matters; Gilbertus Anglicus, *Commentary on Giles of Corbeil, De urinis* (x 2; second copy glossed).**Provenance:** MC. Formerly one vol. with LP 392 (fos. 29-58) (share medieval quire markings).**MS 411 (s. xiii²)****Content:** S. de Bisigniaco (Simon de Bisignano?), *Commentary on Decretum Gratiani*.**Provenance:** with LP 437 (fos. 43-72), formed one vol. with now-missing *Fructus sive pensiones quas Hibernia tenebatur solvere Monasterio Lanthoniae* (Ker, 'Sancroft's Rearrangement of the MSS of Lambeth Palace, p. 15).**MS 425 (fos. i, 1-21) (s. xii/xiii)****Content:** Cicero, *De amicitia*, *De senectute*.**Provenance:** f. 8^r: *iste liber est magistri nicolai*. A16.370. Formerly one vol. with LP 431 (fos. 1-7, 16-88), therefore earlier at Llanthony Prima.

MS 427 (s. x/xi)(fos. 210-11 c.1070-90)

Content: Collect; list of days of moon with characterisation and prognostics; list of termini with memorial verses; Psalter (glossed in English); prayer; hymn in Anglo-Saxon; *Cantica*; antiphons (s. xv); Old English *Vita S. Mildrethae* (frag.) (f. 210); Old English text on Kentish royal saints (frag.) (f. 211).

Provenance: made at Winchester? A16.45? F. 209^v (s. xv): X^{em} R. Lanthonie. *Henr.*

Bibliography: Ker, *Cat. Anglo-Saxon*, no. 280-1; Gameson, *MENE*, no. 595.

MS 431 (fos. i, 1-7, 16-88) (s. xii^{ex}) (Plate XXXII)

Content: fos. i,1-7: miscellaneous theology. Fos. 16-88: Augustine, *De differentia spiritus et anime*; verses; Pseudo-Clement I, *Recognitiones*; *Anima homo interior*; Gregory of Tours, *Miracula Andreae* (excerpts); Ailred of Rievaulx/Thomas de Frakaham?, *Speculum spiritualis amicitiae*; *Speculum humilitatis*; moral sayings (Seneca, Aristotle, Boethius, Cicero, Gregory, Augustine, Socrates).

Provenance: *Iste liber est fratris Walteri de Haya. p\ri/oris lant' p\ri/me.* (f. i^v) (s. xiii). MC. Formerly one vol. with LP 425 (fos. i, 1-21).

MS 431 (fos. 146-60) (1090-1110)

Content: Pseudo-Augustine (Ambrosius Autpertus), *De conflictu uitiorum atque uirtutum*.

Provenance: f. 160^v: [paraph-mark] *liber domus lanton' iux\ta/ gloucestr'* (s. xv). Formerly one vol. with LP 408 (fos. 20-141).

Bibliography: Gameson, *MENE*, no. 596.

MS 431 (fos. 161-82) (s. xii^{ex})

Content: Anselm of Canterbury, *Proslogion*; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum*, *Libro de dispensatione et precepto*; Gregory, *In septima omelia extreme partis Ezechielis*.

Provenance: formerly one vol. with LP 392 (fos. 116-3) and LP 365 (fos. i, ii, 1-119).

MS 437 (fos. 43-73) (s. xiii¹)

Content: Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Consideratione*.

Provenance: see LP 411.

MS 449 (s. xii^{ex})

Content: notes on Job; Gratian, *Decretum*; *Quidam habens filium optulit eum ditissimo canobio*; 3 paragraphs of commentary on Ecclesiastes; medical receipts; *De origine iuris canonici et de vij generalibus causis contrarietatum in canonibus emergencium*.

Provenance: A16.271. MC.

MS 451 (fos. 83-192) (s. xii²)

Content: Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, *De amando deo*, *De arte amoris*. Richard of S.-Victor, *De statu interioris hominis*; Pseudo-Jerome, *De membris domini*; exposition of *Rorate celi*; sermon/gloss on Magnificat.

Provenance: A16.309?

MS 452 (s. xii^{2/4})

Content: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Super Cantica canticorum*.

Provenance: LH. A16.142? MC. F. 219^v: *Johannes Glowcet* ... (s. xv). *Vide* LP 161.

Bibliography: *vide* LP 161.

MS 475 (fos. 111-79) (s. xii^{med}) (Plate XXI)

Content: William of Wycombe (prior 1137-c.1150), *vita* of Robert of Béthune (d.1148).

Provenance: author and subject were Llanthony priors. Dedicated to Henry of Blois (f. 111^v). F. ii^v: *Johannes Barkham A.D. 1612* (several of his books are amongst the Laud manuscripts at Oxford).

Bibliography: see Cotton, Julius D.x.

MS 481 (s. xiii²)

Content: sermons, incl. Peter Cantor, *de b. Marie*; Peter of Poitiers (Schneyer, *Repertorium* 9.47 no. 34); Hilduinus/Hildewinus (*ibid.*, 2.717 no. 27); Anselm (*Dixi Confitebor* ...); anon., *Sermo ad scolares*; *Plantauerat dominus deus. Legitur de paradiso terrestri* (*ibid.*, 9.47 no. 19); from Odo of Cheriton, *Sermones de euangeliiis sanctorum*. Hugh of S.-Victor, *De institutione nouiciorum*; Defensor of Ligugé, *Scintillarium*; Walter de Châtillon, *De trinitate et de incarnatione Christi*; *Locus argumenti medius alius a causa alius a coniugatis et alius a diuisione*; vocabulary.

Provenance: f. 176^r: *dno/ W. Capellano de cradeley* (Worcs.) (s. xiii). A16.229. MC.

MS 540 (s. xii^{med})

Content: *Psalterium Ivonis* (glossed).

Provenance: label on flyleaf (formerly on binding): *Psalterium Ivonis* and (s. xv) *de v^o gradu primi armarii* (A16.58).

MS 1229 (fragments removed from bindings of MSS rebound in the time of Archbishop Sancroft [1678-90]).**Nos. 7, 8** (s. x)

Content: 2 single leaves of anon. commentary on Matthew (Latin and Irish).

Provenance: former pastedowns of LP 119.

No. 10 (s. xii)

Content: bifolium of earliest customs of the Cistercian order (agrees nearly with text printed from only known MS, caps. CVIII.11-CXI.6, CXIII 9-50) (Bill, *Catalogue*).

Provenance: former back pastedown of LP 148: *Lanthon* (s. xv) and *Beda* (c.1300) on exposed side, coincidence in position of mark made by pin of a former strap-and-pin fastening with a mark on f.150 of LP 148.

Bibliography: N.R. Ker, 'An early-twelfth century MS fragment containing Cistercian customs', *Analecta Cisterciensia Extractum*, 40, (Rome, 1984), fos. 102-6.

Nos. 14, 15 (s. xii^{2/4})

Content: *De ritibus ecclesiae in cena domini...*: four adjacent leaves of text concerning the significance of the rites and observances of the church during Holy Week (imperf.).

Provenance: LH. Leaves bear mark of pin of former strap-and-pin fastening. Similar mark in same position on fos. 138-9 of LP 372. These leaves are the same size as those of LP 372. Pre-Sancroft catalogues record as the last item of LP 372 a now-missing *Tractatus Anonimus utrinque mutilus mystice exponens ritus quosdam ecclesiasticos*, probably LP 1229 (nos. 14, 15).

Lincoln's Inn,**Hale 91 (85)** (c.1200)

Content: Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*. Half of original Romanesque binding.

Provenance: French. *Historie petri manducatoris liber ecclesie lanth' [...]* *gloucestriam* (f. 2; s. xiv). A16.266/490.

Bibliography: Ker, *MMBL* 1, p. 129.

Westminster Abbey,**H.1.31** (printed book) (Paris, 1509)

Content: John Mair, Fourth Book/Part of the commentary on the *Sentences*.

Provenance: *lantonia* (back pastedown).

Oxford,**Bodleian Library,****Auct. D.2.1** (c.1190-1200) (Plate XXVI)

Content: Psalter with edited version of Gilbert de la Porrée's gloss; Clement of Llanthony, *De sex alis cherubim* (unprinted).

Provenance: numbering. A16.46.

Bibliography: Morgan, *Early Gothic MSS*, no. 8; O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library 3: British, Irish and Icelandic Schools* (Oxford, 1973), no. 226; Coates, *Reading*, pp. xx-xxi; De Hamel *Glossed Books*, p. 20 n. 37; Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 194.

Bodley 839 (s. xiiⁱⁿ)

Content: Ambrose, *De mysteriis*, *De Sacramentis*; Martin of Braga, *Formula vitae honestae*; Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani*; sermon on John the Baptist (f. 154^v) (*vide* Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, pp. 116-9); theological extracts.

Provenance: MC.

Bibliography: Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* 3, no. 76; Abulafia and Evans, *Gilbert Crispin*, pp. xxviii, 3, 5.

Hatton 49 (s. xiii^{med})

Content: William of Tournai, *Flores Bernardi* (*Bernardinum*).

Provenance: A16.143. MC.

Rawl. A.374 (s. xii^{2/4})

Content: Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*.

Provenance: LH. Shares scribe with LP 189 and OTC 33. A16.178.

Bibliography: Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* 3, no. 152, pl. 15; Ker, *English MSS*, p. x.

Rawl C.163 (s. xiii¹)

Content: Peter Lombard, *Sentences*. Original binding.

Provenance: A16.256/76.

Bibliography: Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* 3, no. 249, pl. xxiv.

Rawl. C.331 (s. xiii^{ex})

Content: two *Registrum brevium*; *Summa de placitis* (in French); Ralph Hengham, *Summa magna*.

Provenance: f. 2^v: contemporary notes concerning Gloucester and Llanthony.

Corpus Christi College,**MS 33** (s. xiii²)

Content: Thomas Aquinas, *Sermones de sanctis*; anonymous sermons, *auctoritates*, *sententiae*, *definitiones orthodoxorum et philosophorum*.

Provenance: MC. Henry Parry (fellow of Corpus, d. 1629) *ex dono*.

MS 36 (s. xivⁱⁿ)

Content: all Anglo-Norman: Maurice de Sully, *Sermones* (corrupt); Edmund of Canterbury (Rich/of Abingdon), *Speculum ecclesie* (*Mirour de seinte eglyse*); poem on the five signs of the day of judgement; fragments of Bible translation. Latin sermons.

Provenance: A16.12; Parry *ex dono*.

Bibliography: *Mirour de seinte Eglyse*, ed. A.D. Wilshire (London, 1982).

MS 42 (s. xiii/xiv)

Content: *Mariale*; hymn to the Virgin; *Narrationes de eucharistia*; *Narraciones de libro Barlaam et Josephat*; 'Romulus', *Fabulae*; Isidore, *Liber de vita et obitu patrum*.

Provenance: A16.284? F. 1^r: *Liber Lanthon* (s. xvⁱⁿ?), repeated 136^v. Flyleaf bound with OCCC 38. Parry *ex dono*.

MS 43 (s. xii^{ex}-xiiiⁱⁿ)

Content: William de Montibus, *Distinctiones* (sole copy); *Homiliae in diebus variis festis*; Bede, *De schematibus et tropis*.

Provenance: initial similar to LFI (f. 56^r). A16.338? MC. Parry *ex dono*.

MS 59 (s. xiii^{med})

Content: Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*; Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* (with gloss of Remigius of Auxerre); short texts and verses, some in Middle English/French, some of local import; hymns to the Virgin/Father (Latin/English); prayers (one in French); verses honouring Sts. Kyneburg and Milburga; epitaphs of Llanthony's patron Humphrey de Bohun (d. 1275); *Versus Alexandri Nequam*.

Provenance: Llanthony material. Donated by Walter Waldink of Staunton, Herefordshire (f. 3^r) (s. xiii^{ex}). A16.328. Parry *ex dono*.

Bibliography: Gibson and Palmer, 'Manuscripts of Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*', pp. 991-2. Brown, 'A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript from Llanthony Priory'. Alexander and Temple, *Illuminated MSS in Oxford College Libraries*, no. 231. Hunt, *Schools and Cloister*, p. 57.

MS 83 (s. xv: 1463?)

Content: Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon*.

Provenance: Llanthony Prima. F. 182^v: ... *dompnus Willelmus / Amourley canonicus Lanthonie prime*... F. 183^r: *Iste Liber est Liber dom' Lanthonie* (s. xv). F. 109^r: *kenesburga*... (s. xv?). Parry *ex dono*. Cf. LP 380 (fos. 1-120).

Bibliography: Watson, *DDO*, I no. 770; II, pl. 619.

MS 139 (s. xii^{2/4})

Content: Cassiodorus, *De anima*; Augustine, *De perfectione iustitiae hominis*, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus liber*; Bachiarius, *De lapso*; Augustine (Fulgentius of Ruspe?), *De Fide ad Petrum*; (Pseudo-?) Fulgentius, *De Trinitate*;

Provenance: LH. Initial related to LFI. Numbering. A16.218? Parry *ex dono*.

MS 154 (s. xiii²)

Content: Augustine, *De spiritu et anima*; Sicard of Cremona, *Summa super decreto Gratiani pars 2*; Petrus Blesensis, *Speculum iuris canonici*; Gregory IX, *Registrum Decretalium*; anon. legal tracts; *Descriptio brevis Angliae*; *tabula chronologica eventuum exhibens seriem ab origine mundi usque ad scriptoris ipsius aetatem* (1268); *Carmen de amicitia* (in French); *Quadrilogus de vita et moribus S. Edmundi de Pounteney* (sole copy); *catechismus*; material relating to Augustinian general chapters of 1231, 1233, 1237, 1276; *nomina abbatum et priorum abbates proprios non habentium ordinis S. Augustini in dyocesi Cantuariensi existentium*; many short items concerning Llanthony.

Provenance: Llanthony material. A16.237?

Bibliography: Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon*, p. 9.

MS 159 (s. xivⁱⁿ)

Content: Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*; Peter Pictavensis, *Summa*; memoranda relating to translations (1383, 1390) of Sts. Kenan and Kyneburg.

Provenance: Llanthony material. *Lanthon'* (f. 211^v). Parry ex dono.

MS 192 (s. xiv/xv)

Content: *Collectarium (Rationale Lanthoniense, sive Liber precum in usum ecclesiae Lanthoniensis... : i) Martyrologium. In calce: "Anno Domini millesimo CCC.^{mo} primo Kal. April. in vigilia pasche ecclesia Lanthoniensis juxta Glocestriam cum quatuor campanilibus et novem campanis fuit ignium incendio totaliter combusta"; ii) Kalendarium; iii) Officium Missae, orationes, lectiones).*

Provenance: liturgical material. Parry ex dono.

MS 194 (s. xii^{2/4})

Content: Augustine: *Retractationes* (extract), *De quantitate animae*, *De decem chordis* (sermo 9), *Meditationum liber 1* (imperf.), *Dialogus quaestionum LXV*.

Provenance: LH. LFI. A16.186. Parry ex dono.

Queen's College,**MS 309** (c.1150-60) (Plate XVII)

Content: Augustine, *Sermones de uerbis domini et apostoli*.

Provenance: descendent of LH; variation of LFI. F. ii^r: *LIBeR Lanthoniensis ecclesie. Qui eum / DetinueRit ; Anathema sit* (s. xii) (same hand/wording as LP 106 and 189). A16.173.

Bibliography: <http://www.queens.ox.ac.uk/library/ms/descriptions/309.pdf>; Alexander and Temple, *Illuminated MSS in Oxford College Libraries*, no. 62; Verbraken, *Études Critiques*, pp. 221-2.

Trinity College,**MS 33** (s. xii^{2/4}) (Plates XII-XIII)

Content: Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*.

Provenance: LH. Shares scribe with LP 189 and Rawl. A.374. R6.76. A16.120.

Bibliography: Alexander and Temple, *Illuminated MSS in Oxford College Libraries*, no. 50; Ker, *English MSS*, x, pl. 13a; R.G. Gameson and A. Coates, *The Old Library: Trinity College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1988), p. 38.

MS 39 (s. xiiⁱⁿ) (Plate VIII)

Content: Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* (I-X).

Provenance: numbering; A16.44; MC.

Bibliography: Alexander and Temple, *Illuminated MSS in Oxford College Libraries*, no. 20; Gameson and Coates, *Old Library*, p. 37; Ker, 'Moralia'; Gameson, *MENE*, no. 800.

MS 40 (s. xii^{2/4})**Content:** Gregory, *Moralia* (XI-XXII).**Provenance:** LH. Exemplar for LP 152. Numbering. A16.44. MC.**Bibliography:** Ker, '*Moralia*' p. 83.**MS 51** (s. xii^{2/4})**Content:** Bruno of Asti, *De sacramentis ecclesiae*; Augustine, *Ep.* 98 & *Sermo de poenitentia*; *In sacramento altaris sex sunt attendenda*; Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini* & *Epistola ad Fredugardum*; Ambrose, *De Trinitate* (excerpt); *Chromatii et Heliodori ad S. Hieronymum epistola de nativitate BVM*; Ps-Jerome, *Vita beatae Mariae*; Lanfranc, *De corpore et sanguine domini...*; Guitmond of Aversa, *De ueritate corporis et sanguinis Christi*.**Provenance:** LH. LFI. A16.164.**Bibliography:** CCCM XVI, ed. Paul, pp. xi, xxxii-xxxiv, 142.**MS 69** (s. xii^{3/4})**Content:** Jerome, *Commentary on Minor Prophets*.**Provenance:** *liber Lantoniensis ecclesie. Qui eum Detinuerit: anatema sit.* (flyleaf) (contemporary). Numbering.**Bibliography:** Alexander and Temple, *Illuminated MSS in Oxford College Libraries*, no. 87.**Toronto,****University of Toronto,****Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, MS 5088** (s. xiii¹) (Plate XXXIII)**Content:** William of Wycombe, *vita* of Robert of Béthune.**Provenance:** author and subject were Llanthony priors. In vicinity of Llanthony Secunda after the Dissolution.**Bibliography:** see Cotton, Julius D.x. *Bibliotheca Phillippica*, Medieval MSS Part 1, pp. 29-30. *The Phillipps MSS: Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps...*, ed. A.N.L. Munby (London, 1968), p. 413.

Fuller descriptions of most pre-thirteenth-century Llanthony MSS may be found in my M.A. thesis: 'The Development of English Book Collections in the Twelfth Century, with particular reference to Llanthony Priory' (University of Kent, 2000).

Appendix 2

Books Linked to Llanthony Prima

Only a few MSS contain evidence of an association with Llanthony Prima. The provenance detail here given is that which links the book to the mother-house. Full provenance details for each volume are given in the handlist.

BL, Royal 8 D.viii (c.1130). *'Excepciones [sic] Roberti de Bracij': theologica* and revision of Anselm's *Similitudines*. Calendar (f. 10^v) records *Dedicatio ecclesiae de Lant*. 4th July, crossed out in favour of *Dedicatio ecclesiae nostrae* 10th September, referring to the dedication of the church of Llanthony Secunda in 1136.

LP 96 (fos. 113-244) (s. xii²). Gregory the Great, *Homiliae XL in Evangelia*. Flyleaf (s. xv): *Iste liber constat ecclesie conuentuali lanthon' prime in Wallia*. Formerly one volume with LP 145 (fos. 257-64).

LP 145 (fos. 257-64) (s. xii^{med}). Homilies. Formerly one vol. with LP 96 (fos. 113-244).

LP 431 (fos. i, 1-7, 16-88) (s. xii^{ex}) (Plate XXXII). Miscellaneous theology. *Iste liber est fratris Walteri de Haya. p\ri/oris lant' p\ri/me*. (f. i^v) (s. xiii). Formerly one volume with LP 425 (fos. 1-21).

LP 425 (fos. i, 1-21) (s. xii/xiii). Cicero, *De amicitia, De senectute*. Formerly one volume with LP 431 (fos. 1-7, 16-88).

LP 380 (fos. 1-120) (s. xii^{ex}). Isidore of Seville, *De lapsis, De summo bono*; Bede, *Super Mulierem fortem*. F. 114^v: *Hic liber est scriptus qui composuit sit benedictus. quod Amou\er\ley* (s. xv) (cf. OCCC 83). Formed one volume with LP 356 (fos. 125-75).

LP 356 (fos. 125-75) (s. xiii). Jerome. Formerly one vol. with LP 380 (fos. 1-120).

LP 200 (fos. 114-63) (s. xiii-xiv). *Distinctiones* on the Psalter. F. 114^v: *Iste liber est [erasure] p\ri/oris Lanth' p\ri/me* (c. 1300?).

OCCC 83 (s. xv: 1463?). Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon*. F. 182^v: ...*dompnus Willelmus / Amourley canonicus Lanthonie prime...*

HCL P.iv.14 (1237 AD). Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; passages on Origen; Ps- Jerome. *Explicit liber undecimus ecclesiastice hystorie. Anno ab incarnatione Domini m^o cc^o xxx^o vii^o scriptus in monasterio sancte Marie de Conal*. (Llanthony Prima's Irish cell of Greatconnell, County Kildare).

Appendix 3

A Sample Collation of Llanthony's Manuscripts of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*

Collation of Llanthony's *Moralia* (books XI-XXII) manuscripts OTC 40 (s. xii^{2/4}) and LP 152 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ) against the edition of the text in *S. Gregorii Magni Opera: Moralia in Iob Libri XI-XXII*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143A (Turnhout, 1979)
(see chapters 5 and 6).

This collation demonstrates that LP 152 was very probably copied from OTC 40.
 OTC 40 was transcribed very accurately, LP 152 a little less so.

Sigla:

E: edition

T: OTC 40

L: LP 152

Book 14 (CCSL 143A, pp. 699-701)

I, 1, 1:	E <i>superiori</i>	[TL <i>superiore</i>
I, 1, 11:	E <i>uxorem ei</i>	[TL <i>uxorem eius</i>
I, 1, 20:	E <i>saltem</i>	[TL <i>saltem</i>
I, 1, 26:	E <i>sapienter frenauit</i>	[TL <i>sapienter refrenavit</i>
I, 1, 30:	E <i>figurantur, qui</i>	[TL <i>figurantur. Qui</i>
I, 1, 32:	E <i>dilabuntur</i>	[TL <i>delabuntur</i>
I, 1, 35:	ET <i>discretionem</i>	[L <i>distractionem</i>
I, 1, 36:	E <i>et quid quod contra</i>	[TL om. <i>quod</i>
II, 2, 1:	E <i>Baldad Suhites</i>	[TL <i>baldad suites</i>
II, 2, 2:	E <i>Intellege</i>	[TL <i>Intellige</i>
II, 2, 5:	E <i>Intellegere</i>	[TL <i>intelligere</i>
II, 2, 5:	E <i>Baldad Suhites</i>	[TL <i>baldad suithes</i>
II, 2, 8:	E <i>intellegeret</i>	[TL <i>intelligeret</i>
II, 2, 10:	E <i>subiungitur</i>	[TL <i>subiungit</i>

V, 5, 9: ET <i>At contra haeretici</i> <i>qui etiam extra ipsam</i>	[L <i>At contra heretici quia etiam</i> <i>contra ipsam</i>
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Book 19 (CCSL 143A, pp. 956-8)

I, 1:	E <i>ualet</i>	[TL <i>ualeat</i>
I, 2, 1:	E <i>Uolucres quoque caeli</i>	[TL <i>uolucres celi quoque</i>
I, 2, 1:	E <i>In scriptura enim sacra</i>	[TL <i>In scriptura autem sacra</i>
I, 2, 3:	E <i>intellegi</i>	[TL <i>intelligi</i>
I, 2, 3, 4:	E <i>potestates aereae</i>	[TL <i>aerie</i>
I, 2, 12:	E <i>fossis uel specubus</i>	[TL <i>fossis uel in specubus</i>
I, 3, 38:	E <i>horti sepultura</i>	[TL <i>hortis sepulture</i>
I, 3, 42:	E <i>erat aspectus</i>	[TL <i>erat ei aspectus</i>
I, 3, 44:	E <i>Et uideamus quam late</i>	[TL <i>Et uide iam quam late</i>
I, 3, 48:	E <i>consolationibus</i>	[TL <i>cogitationibus</i>
II, 4, 4:	E <i>exstiterunt</i>	[TL <i>extiterunt</i>

Collation of Llanthony's *Moralia* (books I-X) manuscripts OTC 39 (s. xiiⁱⁿ) and LP 56 (s. xii^{2/4}) against the edition in *S. Gregorii Magni Opera: Moralia in Iob Libri I-X*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143 (Turnhout 1979)

OTC 39 seems to have been an accurate copy from a good exemplar. It is unlikely that LP 56 was copied from it.

Sigla:
E: edition
T: Trinity 39
L: Lambeth 56.

Book 2 (CCSL 143, pp. 59-61)

I, 1,5:	E <i>eorum</i>	[TL <i>uirorum</i>
I, 1, 7:	E and T <i>mens minus</i>	[L <i>minus mens</i>
I, 1, 12:	E and T <i>quod timere.</i>	[L <i>quod timere debeamus.</i>

II, 2, 1:	E and T: <i>quadam die</i>	[L <i>quadam autem die</i>
II, 2, 4:	E and T <i>exprimant</i>	[L <i>exprimunt</i>
II, 2, 11:	E and T <i>qui</i>	[L <i>quia</i>
II, 2, 14-15:	E and T <i>uirtutis dei sedet</i>	[L <i>uirtutis sedet</i>
III, 3, 13:	E and T <i>capiant</i>	[L <i>capiunt</i>

Appendix 4

The Annotations of Morgan of Carmarthen

	Shelfmark	Main Contents	Date	Inscription & Location
1	CCCC 390 (Plate XLII)	Gerald of Wales, <i>Vita Gaufridi</i> .	c. 1200	F. i ^r (top of page): <i>In hoc vol' <u>continetur</u> vita gaufridi eboracensis archiepi'</i> .
2	Royal 2 C.x	Claudius Clemens. on Matthew	s. xii ²	F. i ^r : <i>In hoc vol' <u>continet'</u></i> [next word written above the line with an insertion mark:] <i>iiij libr' claudij pre/sbiter/i super math'</i> . [flourish]. Possible site of erasure of signature above.
3	LP 30	<i>Decretales nove</i>	s. xiii ^{ex}	F. i ^r : <i>In hoc vol' <u>continet</u>\ur/ q\i/nque libri decretal'</i> . [flourish].
4	LP 80 (fos. 168-244)	Bernardus Papiensis, <i>Breuiarium</i> .	s. xiii	F. 168 ^v : <i>In ist' vol' <u>conti</u>\r/. breuiariu' bernardi prepositi papiensis cu' alio vald' vtili theolog'</i> .
5	LP 101	John Cassian, <i>Collationes</i> .	s. xii ^{2/4}	1 st parchment page, stained but ruled, blank but for inscription on ruled line: <i>In hoc vol' <u>conti</u>' loh'es Heremita</i> . [flourish]. ¹
6	LP 138 (fos. i, ii, 1-44)	Seneca, <i>De beneficiis</i> and <i>De clementia</i> , Pseudo-Seneca, <i>De paupertate</i> , Martin of Braga, <i>Formula vitae honestae</i> .	s. xii ^{ex}	F. ii ^v : <i>In isto vol' <u>conti</u>' viz liber senece de beneficijs ad Eburtu' liberalem amicum suum</i> . [flourish] / <i>Item liber eiusdem de paupertate</i> . [flourish] / <i>Item de .iiij\or/ v\ir\tutibus card'</i> / <i>Item liber ejusdem de clemencia. ad Neronem</i> . Further down page at outside edge and very nearly trimmed is <i>morganus</i> .
7	LP 148	Bede and Alcuin on Genesis.	s. xii ^{med}	F. 150 ^v : Morgan's signature at top, erased, plus: <i>In isto vol' <u>continet'</u> Beda super Genesim</i> . [flourish] / <i>Item questiones super librum geneseos secundum Albinum ad Sigulfum presbiter</i> . [flourish].
8	LP 153 (fos. 156-79)	Luke glossed (formerly bound with LP 200 [fos. 176-217], Sermons).	s. xiii	F. 156 ^f at base: <i>In ist' vol' <u>conti</u>\ur/ lucas glosatus</i> . [flourish] / <i>Itm' diu'si sermones cu' aliis etc'</i> . [flourish].
9	LP 165 (fos. 102-90)	G. Babio, <i>Sermones</i> .	s. xiii ⁱⁿ	F. 102 ^v : <i>Morganus canonicus de Kermerd'</i> (top) and <i>In hoc vol' <u>continent'</u> Babion super Gaufridum de episcopis et uni\ta\te ecclesie</i> . [flourish] / <i>Item sermones Sti' Augustinus. de penitentia cum aliis diuersis</i> . [flourish].

¹ Note no title of text given.

10	LP 195	Priscian.	s. xii ^{med}	F. i ^r : <i>Morganus canon' de Kermerd'</i> (at top, erased) and <i>In hoc vol' continet' priscianus magnus.</i> [flourish].
11	LP 200 (fos. 114-63) Llanthony Prima.	<i>Distinctiones super Psalterium.</i>	s. xiii-xiv	F. 114 ^v : <i>Iste liber est</i> [erasure, perhaps of more than one word] <i>p\ri/oris Lanth' p\ri/me.</i> Directly under the erased word(s) is <i>morganus</i> , as though Morgan erased a name and replaced with his own. On the same page: <i>In isto vol' conti'ur distinctiones super psalterium.</i> [flourish].
12	LP 208	Esaias glossed.	s. xii ²	F. ii ^r : (top) <i>Morganus canonicus de kermerd'.</i> and <i>In isto vol' continet' liber ysaie glosatus.</i> [last three words underlined] [flourish].
13	LP 215	<i>Vigilius Thapsensis etc.</i>	s. xii ²	F. i ^r : <i>Morganus canonicus de Kermerd'</i> (at top, erased) and <i>In hoc vol' continet'.</i> <i>Athanasius de t\ri/nitate.</i> [flourish] / <i>Item Aug'us de heresibus.</i> [flourish] / <i>Item Aug'us de fide et simbolo.</i> [flourish] / <i>Item explanacio fidei Sti' Jeronim'.</i> [flourish] / <i>Item disputacio bi' aug' cont\ral felicianum hereticum de t\ri/nitate.</i> [flourish].
14	LP 218 (fos. 1-89)	Gregory the Great, <i>Liber Pastoralis.</i>	s. xii ^{2/4-med}	F. 1 ^r : <i>In hoc vol' continet' liber pastoralis cure g'g'. pp'.</i> [flourish] plus <i>Morganus canonicus de kermerd'</i> (erased).
15	LP 227	<i>Comm. in psalterium.</i>	s. xiii ⁱⁿ	F. ii ^v : <i>In hoc vol' conti' exposicio super psalterium.</i> [flourish].
16	LP 231 (Plate XLII)	Matthew glossed.	s. xii ^{2/4-med}	F. i ^v : <i>Morganus canonic\us/de kermerd'.</i> ; ii ^r : <i>In hoc vol' continet\ur/ liber mathei glosatus.</i> [flourish].
17	LP 345 (fos. 97-227)	Gregory the Great.	s. xii ^{2/4}	F. 97 ^r : <i>In isto vol' cont' Registrum b'i Gregorii pap'e/.</i> [flourish].
18	LP 360 (fos. 1-118)	<i>Note super bibliam etc.</i>	s. xii-xiii	F. 118 ^r : (top) <i>Morganus canonicus de kermerd'.</i> and <i>In hoc vol' cont' distinctiones aliquae.</i> / <i>Item glose super Johannem.</i> et <i>glose super psalterium</i> / <i>Item questiones et soluciones.</i> / <i>Item hyldebertus super canonem.</i> / <i>Item quidam t\ra/ctatus q\ui/ sic incipi\nt/.</i> <i>Usque qu\o/ piger dormis.</i> / <i>Item glose super ezechielem.</i> [flourish].
19	LP 365 (fos. 1-119)	Augustine, <i>Confessiones</i> (formerly bound with LP 392 [fos. 116-31] [<i>De</i>	s. xii ⁱⁿ	1 st parchment leaf crumpled & slightly shrunk. Foliated 'i' (modern); blank but for modern shelf-mark. 2 nd

		<i>significationibus rerum</i> , s. xii ^{ex}] & LP 431 [fos. 161-82] [final part of Gregory's <i>In Ezechielem</i> , Bernard of Clairvaux <i>Libro de dispensatione et precepto</i> , Anselm's <i>Proslogion</i> , s. xii ^{ex})).		parchment pg ('ii') also crumpled & shrunk, edges torn (chewed?), recto blank, verso has Morgan's inscription: <i>In isto vol' continentur .vz. lib' confessionu' bi' aug'tini epi'</i> [flourish] / <i>It' lib' proslogion Anselmi.</i> [flourish] / <i>It' tra/ctat[ij?] q\ui/ inci\</i> sic venerabili pr'bito'. <i>W [?] . fr' b.</i> <i>frui[iu?]' q\ui/ i' clara valle fut</i> [flourish] / <i>It' liber bernardi abbat'is de dispe'saco'e et precepto.</i> [flourish] / <i>It' Gg' . i' vij omel' extreme ptis ezechiel' . de .vij. g\al/dibus aste[-]de'd ad p[--]ta'.</i> [flourish] / <i>It' de diu'sis sig\ilficaco[-]ibus ve[-]ti t aliar'[um?] rer' . diu'sar'.</i> The whole lined through & replacement contents added beneath by Sancroft. ² Morgan's inscription written neatly at top of pg. No sign of his signature/its erasure.
20	LP 377 (Plate VII)	Isidore, <i>De summo bono</i> .	s. ix ^{2/4}	F. i ^v , upper margin: signature, erased. F. 1 ^r : <i>In isto vol' continet' Ysidor' de summo bono.</i> [flourish].
21	LP 378 (fos. i, ii, 1-56, 122-64)	Alcuin, Pseudo-Basil.	s. xii-xiii	F. i ^r : <i>In isto vol' continentur / Prim'o/. Alquinus de caritate</i> [last word lined through by Sancroft] / <i>Item liber Basilij de doct\ri/na christ\i/anorum.</i> / <i>Item quidam sermones vald' utiles / Item de Ammonicione profectus anime / Item duo libri Egisippi de victorijs ro\ma/norum.</i>
22	LP 390	W. Peraldus; <i>Concordantiae</i> .	s. xiii ^{ex}	F. i ^v notes, plus: [paraph-mark] <i>In hoc vol' continentur. summa de vicijs abreuiata.</i> [flourish] / [paraph-mark] <i>Item concordancie . siue themata et anathemata.</i> [flourish]. Above this, erased: <i>Morganus canonicus de kermerd'.</i>
23	LP 394	Innocent III; <i>questiones</i> .	s. xiii ²	F. 1: <i>In isto vol' cont' lib' Innoce'tij pp\e/ de mist'io et sig\o/ne misse .</i> [flourish] / <i>It' q'ones de anima rationali .</i> [flourish] <i>et alie q'ones vald' bone de rebus . de angelis . / et de demonibus .</i> [flourish]).
24	LP 397	2 vols.:	Both	1 ^r : signature erased: <i>Morganus canon'</i>

² Viz.: (1) *S. Augustini Confessionu' ll. 13.* (2) [horizontal line indicating that St. Augustine is again intended] *De Doctrina' Christiana' ll. 4* (3) [horizontal line indicating that St. Augustine is again intended] *Contra Felicianu' ha[-]reticu' [Ariamu' added above this word by a different hand] . de* (4) *Trinitati' Alhrcatio* [last word added by a different hand].

		<p>li) Ailred of Rievaulx, <i>De speculo caritatis</i> (1-104). Ili) Hugh of S.-Victor, <i>De institutione noviciorum</i>. ii) Hugh of S.-Victor, <i>De oratione</i>.</p>	s. xii ^{2/4}	<p><i>de kermerd'</i>. Inscription not written on ruled lines: <i>In hoc vol' continet' lib'.</i> <i>Eilredi abbatis</i> [Sancroft adds <i>Rievallensis</i>] / <i>dictu speculu' caritatis</i> [& possibly another word now obscured by Sancroft's additions] / <i>It' t\ra/ctatus dni' hugonis</i> [insertion by Sancroft above line: <i>prioris</i>] <i>de</i> [obscured by Sancroft's addition] <i>stitucone' nouiciorum</i> [plus additions by Sancroft] / <i>Itm' t\ra/ctatus eiusdem de orone'</i> [flourish].</p>
25	LP 398	<p><i>Sermones</i>, Richard of Wetheringsett, <i>Summa Qui bene praesunt</i>; <i>Gesta Pilati & Descensus ad inferos</i>; R. Maurus, <i>Allegoriae</i>; Raymond of Penafort, <i>Summa de paenitentia</i>; William Mesel, <i>De septem artibus</i>.</p>	s. xiii ²	<p>F. ii^v: <i>In isto vol' cont' sermones valde vtilis</i> / <i>Item summa mag'r W. de montibus</i> / <i>Item t\ra/ctatus mag'r Willm' mesel de .vij. artibus</i> / <i>Item summa Raymundi</i> / <i>Item significati\o/nes diuersorum verborum prout intelligent\ur/ in sac\ra/sc\ri\ptura sec' ord' alphabe\ti/</i> / <i>Item no\ta/bilia et sermones cum alijs interpretacionibus sec' ord' alphabe\ti/</i> / <i>Item concordantie</i>. On the same page is <i>morganus</i>.</p>
26	LP 409	<p><i>Medica</i>. (formerly bound with R. of Wetheringsett's <i>Summa Qui bene praesunt</i> [now LP 392, fos. 29^r-55^r, s. xiiiⁱⁿ]).</p>	s. xiii ^{ex} -xiv	<p>Last page (110^v) signed: [pointing finger] <i>Morganus canoni\cus/ de kerm\er/d'</i>. Above this: [pointing finger] <i>In isto vol' continentur</i>. [underlined] / [paraph-mark] <i>primo quidam t\ra/ctatus moralis viz. de caritate</i>; some of previous word in superscript, but how much obscured by blotch] <i>et de preceptis decalogi</i>. [flourish] / [paraph-mark] <i>Item t\ra/ctatus de phisica seu cyrurgia</i> [second <i>r</i> inserted with caret mark] [flourish] / [paraph-mark] <i>Item liber dictus platearius</i>. [flourish] / [paraph-mark] <i>Item summa cum questionibus m\ri/' Johis' de sto' amando. supra antidotarium</i>. / [paraph-mark] <i>Item alius t\ra/ctatus de cyrurgia. qui dicitur noua cyrurgia</i>. [crossing through] / <i>mr</i> [overlined] <i>Lamf\ra/nci. mediolanensis</i>. / <i>Item alius t\ra/ctatus valde vtilis de vrinis cognascendis</i>. / <i>Item alius t\ra/ctatus de vrina</i>. [flourish]. Of these, the first now absent (now Wetheringsett, <i>Summa Qui bene praesunt</i>, LP 392).</p>

27	LP 425 (fos. i, 1-21) Llanthony Prima.	Cicero, <i>De amicitia</i> and <i>De senectute</i> . (formerly one vol. with LP 431 [fos. i, 1-7, 16-88]).	s. xii/xiii	Contains no writing by Morgan. Therefore it is by association with LP 431 that its connection with him comes (see below).
28	LP 431 (fos. i, 1-7, 16-88) Llanthony Prima.	Miscellaneous theology (formerly one vol. with LP 425 [i, 1-21])	s. xii ^{ex}	F. 87 ^v : lower margin: [paraph-mark] <i>In ist' vol' conti'. miracl' de s'to andrea.</i> / [paraph-mark] <i>It' augus de sp'u et anima.</i> / [paraph-mark] <i>It' t'ra/ctatus de amicicia.</i> / [paraph-mark] <i>It' tullius de amicicia</i> / [paraph-mark] <i>It' tullius de senectute.</i> / [paraph-mark] <i>It' auctor 'ves/ pb'or'.</i> / [paraph-mark] <i>It' op'iones de sola et luna et de fluctibus mar'. et c'.</i> [flourish].
29	LP 449	Gratian, <i>Decretum</i> ; <i>De origine iuris canonici et de vij generalibus causis contrarietatum in canonibus emergencium.</i>	s. xii ^{ex}	F. i ^v : Morgan's signature, erased. ii ^r : <i>In hoc vol' continet' concordia discordancium canonum.</i> [flourish] / <i>Item de causis.</i> / <i>Item de origine iuris canonici/ et de vij gener'alibus causis contr'al/rietatum</i> [?] <i>in canonibus/</i> / <i>emergencium</i> [flourish] / <i>Item de registro gregorij pap'el.</i>
30	LP 452	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Sermones</i> .	s. xii ^{2/4}	Inscription on 1 st parchment pg (i ^r) (at top of which is erasure, probably of Morgan's signature; below this is: <i>In isto vol' continetur sermones bernardi abbatis / super Cantica canticorum.</i> [the two lines are bracketed together]. Remainder of page blank (mutilated lower edge).
31	LP 481	Sermons, Hugh of S.-Victor, <i>De institutione nouiciorum</i> , Defensor of Ligugé, <i>Scintillarum</i> , Walter de Châtillon, <i>De trinitate et de incarnatione Christi</i> , tract on logic, vocabulary.	s. xiii ²	Confusion about this volume's content persisted at Llanthony and may have been caused by its incipit: f.1 begins <i>Hic incipit Didaschalcon Mag'a/ri hug' de s'. victore</i> , and in the lower margin is <i>lib' d'ni hug' p'ri/oris de disciplina et vita cl'icor[--]</i> . The flyleaf (f. 189 ^r) bears an inscription stating (<i>inter alia</i>) that the volume contains Hugh's <i>de institutione nouitiorum</i> ; however, in the fourteenth century it was catalogued as the <i>Didascalion</i> . Morgan followed this misattribution. 189 ^v : signature, erased and <i>In hoc vol' conti'r/ dydaschalon magri' hug' de sto' vict</i> [disappears into binding] / <i>Itm' diu'si sermones.</i>
32	Bodley	Ambrose, <i>De mysteriis</i> and	s. xii ¹	Final (vellum) folio in MS (166 ^v).

839		<i>De Sacramentis</i> , Gilbert Crispin, <i>Disputatio Iudei et Christiani</i> , Martin of Braga, <i>Formula vitae honestae</i> , extracts from Augustine, Anselm, Isidore, Jerome, Alcuin.		Morgan's signature is in the top centre of the page, erased. Below: <i>In hoc vol' continent' lib' Ambrosij de sac\ra\mentis</i> . [flourish] / <i>It' queda' exe'pla stor[-] patru'</i> . [flourish] / <i>It' Expla' sti' Macharij monachi ad filios</i> . [flourish] / <i>It' de sac\ra\mento baptissmatio</i> [flourish] / <i>It' expo' [---] Mom' dui'cd'</i> . [flourish] / <i>It' aliqui sermones vald' vtiles</i> [flourish] ³ / <i>It' disputacio' iudei et xpiani'</i> . [flourish] / <i>It' aliqui' sermones sti' augustini</i> . [flourish] / <i>It' libellus [---] de .iiij. ° v\ir\tutibus</i> . [flourish] / <i>It' [word lined through] sermones collaco'es et narron'es</i> . [flourish].
33	Hatton 49	William of Tournai, <i>Flores Bernardi</i>	s. xiii ^{med}	Inner binding resembles papier-mâché, with leather thongs visible. First parchment page formerly pastedown? Verso blank but for erasure, probably Morgan's signature. Below this: <i>In hoc vol' continentur .xj. libr bi[?] -bernardi. dict' fflores bernardi</i> .
34	OCCC 33	<i>Sermones</i> etc.	s. xiii ²	F. 1 ^v : <i>In hoc vol' conti'no\[-]/bilium cum sermonibus / Item summa ututu' abreuata. / Item diffo'es orthodoxorum / S[?]ma' tabul' par' ante / [erasure] faci ort[-]' libri [last two lines bracketed together]</i> . List now lined through. Erasure at top of page could have been his signature, although perhaps too large for that.
35	OCCC 43	William de Montibus, <i>Distinctiones</i> ; Bede, <i>De schematibus et tropis</i> ; <i>Altercatio S. Athanasii/Vigilii Thapsensis contra hereticos</i> ; verses, <i>sententiae</i> , homilies.	s. xii ^{ex} -xiii ⁱⁿ	End pastedown: <i>In isto vol' cont' excepcio'es v'borum / Item alt'cac'o sti' Athanasii. cont\ra' hereticos. / Item quidam sermones</i> . [flourish] <i>t c'</i> .
36	OTC 39	Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia</i> .	s. xii ⁱⁿ	Inscription on i ^r (otherwise blank but for one other scribble): <i>In ist' vol' conti' p\ri\ma Moraliu' g'g'</i> . [flourish].

³ Note value judgement.

Appendix 5

Llanthony's Archival Documents

The shelf-marks of Llanthony's registers and cartularies now held in TNA, having been altered more than once over the years, are confusing. Jack, 'Archival case history', pp. 379-81, explains this, whilst *Calendar*, ed. Rhodes, pp. xi-xii, usefully gives some former shelfmarks alongside the new.

Cartularies

TNA, Chancery Masters' Exhibits,

- **C115/74, no. 6679.** Cartulary of Llanthony Secunda registering grants to the priory, arranged topographically. Post-medieval title: *Registrum Antiquum*. After 1244-s. xv.
- **C115/77, no. 6683.** General cartulary of Llanthony Secunda. First of two vols. (2nd = no. 6681). English endowments. Labelled *Registrum Magnum*. C. 1350.
- **C115/75, no. 6681.** General cartulary of Llanthony Secunda. Second of two volumes (the other = no. 6683). This one contains English endowments, royal and papal charters, compositions with Llanthony Prima, Irish charters and the bequest of books by John Lecche (f. 281). C. 1350.
- **C115/80, no. 6686.** Irish possessions of Llanthony in *Wallia*, 1408. Ed. by Brooks, *Irish Cartularies*, with the addition of parts of xxvii and xxviii of no. 6681. Robinson, *DDLL*, I no. 118; II pls. 78-9.
- **C115/84 no. 6690.** Cartulary of Llanthony Secunda. Indexed copy of charters. 457 items. C. 1440. Robinson, *DDLL*, I, no. 120; II, pls. 114-5.
- **C115/83, no. 6689.** General cartulary of Llanthony Secunda commissioned by Prior John Garland. First of two vols. (2nd = no. 6687), containing endowments outside Gloucester. 1449. Robinson, *DDLL*, I, no. 119 and II, pl. 130.
- **C115/81 no. 6687.** General cartulary of Llanthony Secunda. Fair copies of endowments made by R. Steymour. Second of two volumes (1st = no. 6689). Confined to Gloucester. 1449. Robinson, *DDLL*, I, no. 119 and II, pl. 130.

An abstract of charters (1458: *ad edificationem omnium fratrum suorum*) was kept by Lady Vestey of Stowell Park, Northleach (Glos.); however, as of 1992 the whereabouts of this document was unknown – it had supposedly been

deposited in the Bodleian Library, which, though, had no record of its receipt. An eighteenth-century transcription is Bodleian, MS Phillipps-Robinson c.201 (Mahling Geddes, *Priory of Lanthony by Gloucester*, p. 17, n. 31). G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London, 1958), no. 535.

See also Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, nos. 530-41.

Registers

TNA, Chancery Masters' Exhibits,

- **OCCC 154** (fos. 1-4, 386-93, 403-34). Letters, dietaries and a rental *tempus* Prior William Ashwell (c.1270).
- **C115/82, no. 6688**. Register of Prior Simon Brockworth. 1362-1376.
- **C115/78, no. 6684**. Register of Prior William Chiriton. 1376-1401.
- **C115/76, no. 6682**. Register of Prior John Wyche. 1408-36.
- **C115/79, no. 6685**. Register of Prior John Heyward. 1457-65. Calendared by Rhodes, *Calendar*.
- **C115/85, no. 6691**. Register of Prior Edmund Forest. 1501-25. Calendared by Rhodes, *Calendar*.

Llanthony's cartularies and registers are listed by W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, 3 vols., (Göttingen, 1930-52), I, pp. 59-63; III, p. 74. Extracts from them by Richard Furney, c.1747, are found in Bodleian, Top. Glouc. c.5 (Furney [1694-1753] was master of the Crypt School, Gloucester and archdeacon of Surrey).

Rentals:

- **C115/73, no. 6678**. Terrier of lands belonging to Llanthony Secunda with extracts of wills in which donations are recited. 1442.
- **Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR/J5/1**: 1455 rental. Ed. Stevenson, *Rental*.
- **Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR/J5/4**. Rental of property in Gloucester belonging to Llanthony Secunda. 1535. *Rental*, ed. Stevenson, pp. vi-vii. A copy of the 1442 rental?

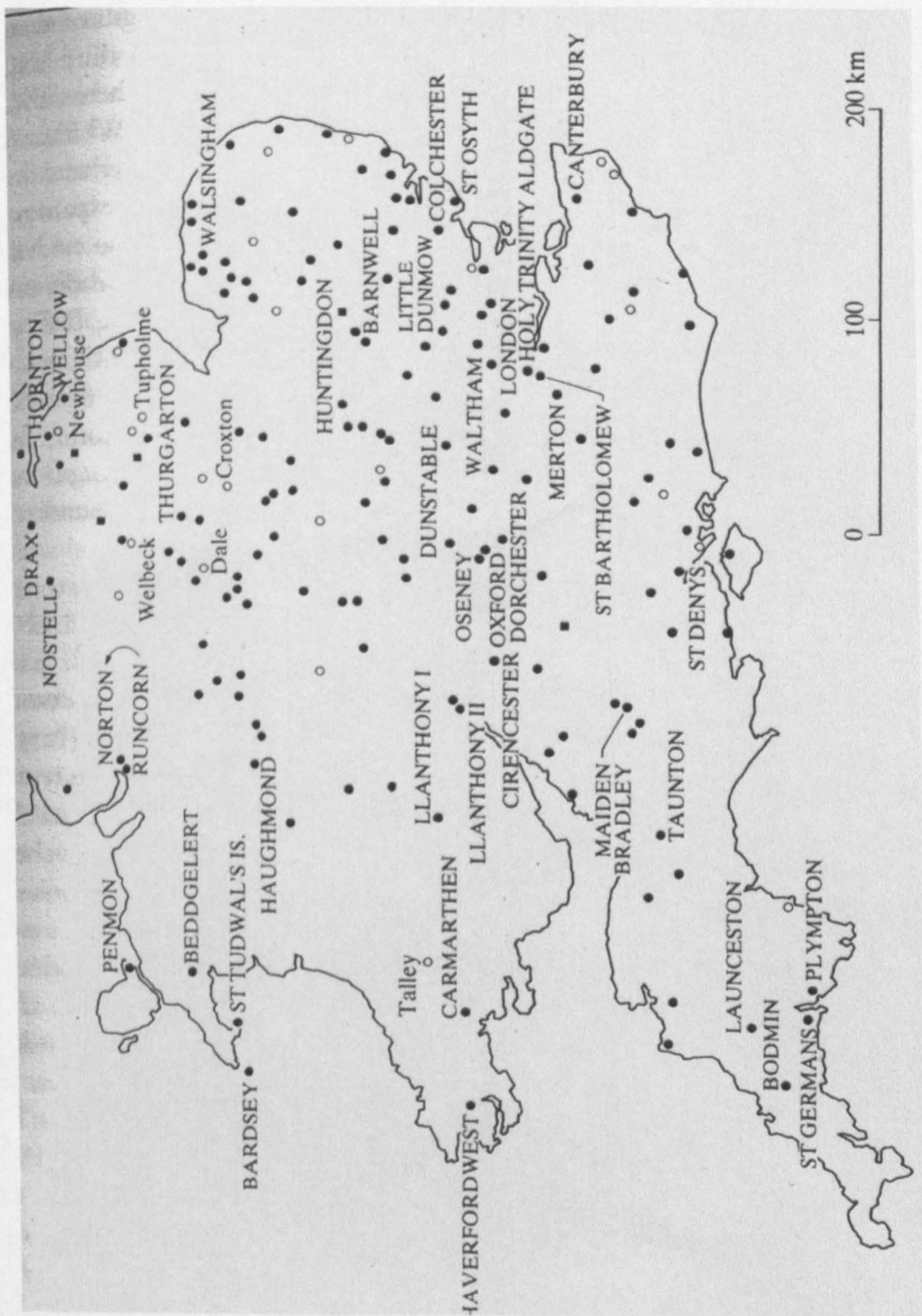


Plate I

The location of Llanthony Prima and Llanthony Secunda

Map showing the distribution of houses of regular canons by c. 1300.



Plate II

The site of Llanthony Prima

The isolated location of the former hermitage, 'in a wilderness far removed from the bustle of mankind' (Gerald of Wales).

'...Precipitous rocks, almost inaccessible...encircle the dark valley and are crowned with airy woods...The intervening valley on the other hand, bristling with trees...thickly set, sinks to the narrow depth of a dark abyss, yet is so exposed to the inclemency of all weathers that... it is often afflicted either by strong and parching wind, or obscuring cloud, or the rush of rain, or bonds of frost, or hardened hail, or snow that mocks by its softness...'
(Cotton, Julius D.x, trans. James, *Abbeys*, p. 133).



Plate III

The ruins of the church of Llanthony Prima

This church was originally erected between 1180 and 1220; the nave is now roofless and much of the west range (seen here) has been subsumed by a hotel.



Plate IV

The ruins of the church of Llanthony Prima



Plate V

The church of Llanthony Prima

An older (Victorian?) view of the west front.

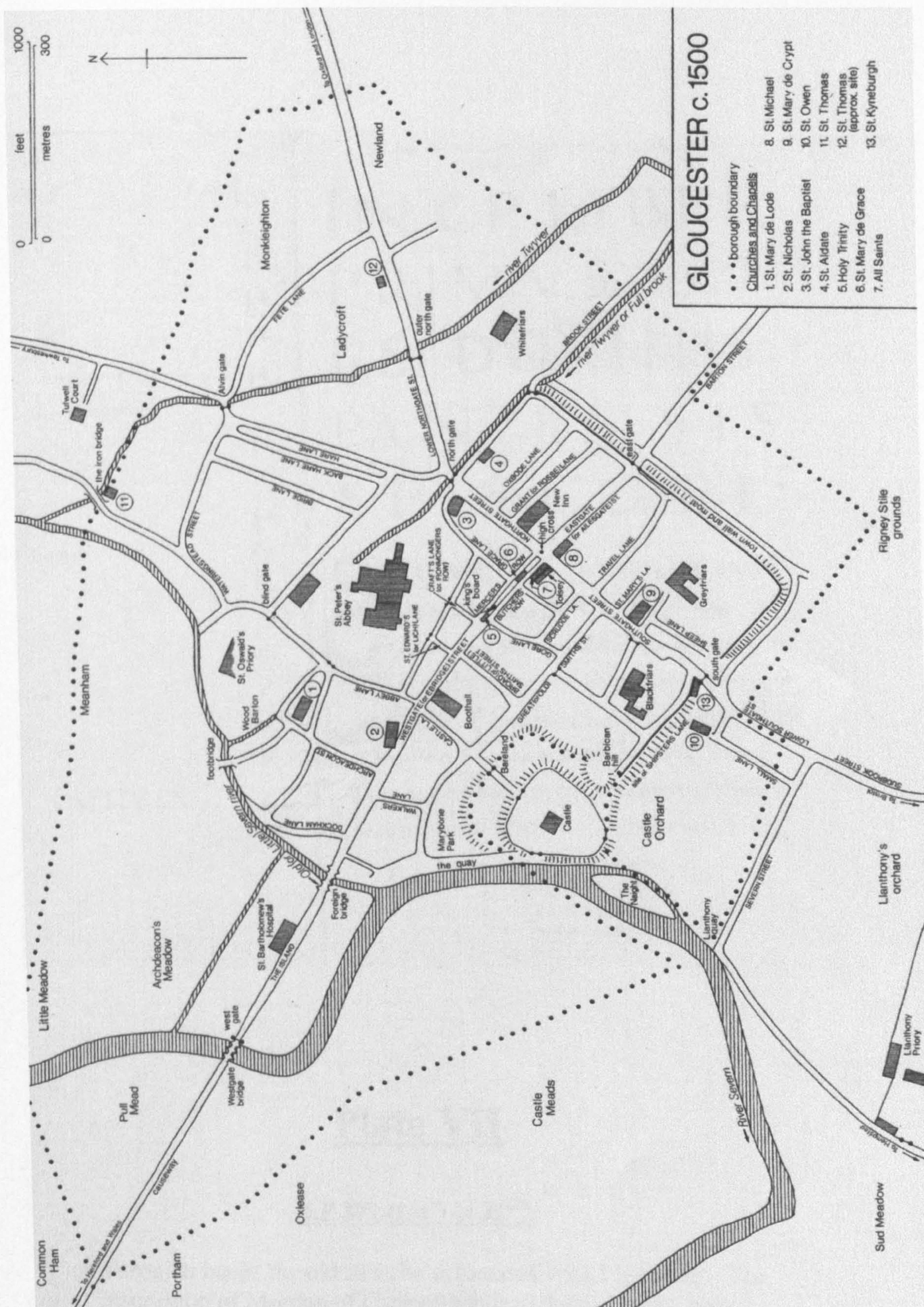


Plate VI

Llanthony Secunda may be seen to the south-west of Gloucester. Also visible are St. Peter's Abbey and Llanthony's quay and orchard.

sibus
 legis
 centorum
 none domitica
 imatione
 lis
 signis
 um
 T CAPITULA
 MI.
 LP 377

In isto volumine est yfidoys de fimo hano.

197

IN CP LIBER PRIMVS S̄CI I S̄ DORIHIS PANTIENSIS EPISCOPI

Quid d̄s summus et inco-
 mutabilis sit.
 Summum bonum d̄s ē. quia incommu-
 tabilis ē. et corrumpi omnino non po-
 test. Creatura uero bonum. sed non
 summum ē. quia mutabilis ē. Et dum
 sit quidem bonum. non tamen esse potest
 et summum. Quid ē dī immortalitas.



Plate VII

LP 377 (f. 1^r) (s. ix^{2/4})

A Turonian book, the oldest to be associated with Llanthony. The inscription of Morgan of Carmarthen is at the top of the page.



VDVM TE FRATER

BEATISSIME IN CONSTANTIYOPOLITANA
urbe cognoscent. cum illic sedis aplice
responsa constringerent. et te illic in
unica. p. causis fidei iuniorum legi-
tio p. duxisset. omne in tuis auribus. qd in
de me displicebat. exposui. qm dui lon-
geq. conuersionis gram distuli. et postqua
cele. su desiderio afflat. scilicet habitu con-
tigi meli putavi. Apertum em in ia de p.

amore qd querere. sed mota me ciuitudo deum. ne exteriori cultu
mutare. Aug. adhuc me cogeret. amon p. senta inuendo qm spociat. deseruere. expe-
re multa. E me ex eide mundi cura succrescere. ut meo ia n. specie. h. qd est suus
mentis retineret. Aug. tandem cuncta sollicit. fugiens. portu monasterii. petu. et relictis
q. mundi se. ut frustra te credidi. ex hui. n. naufragio. nudus euasi. Quia em pleriq.
naq. incaute religati. et de sinu tucillimo licoris unda. excutit. cu. tepestas excreuit.
repente me sub p. ceteri. goliastici. ordinis incautaru. scilicet. pelag. reppi. et q. mona-
sterio. q. habendo. ti. fortis. tenui. qua. stricte. tenenda. fuerit. p. denda. cognoui. cu. in
p. ciendi. sacri. leari. ministerii. obediencie. uice. opponit. hoc sub. excol. colore. sus-
cepit. est. qd. si. in. alio. loco. uer. fugiendo. desit. Iostq. hoc. nolenti. m. atq. peniten-
ti. cu. q. de. de. ministerii. et. pondus. cure. pastoralis. in. inueta. cu. cano-
ne. duri. colere. quanto. me. ipse. sentiens. in. nulla. fiducie. consolatione. respiro. Quia. m.
mundo. ia. tempora. malis. crebrescentib. termino. p. pinque. t. h. se. ipsi. nos. q. in-
ter. ministerii. deserui. credim. curis. exteriorib. implicam. Sic. eo. q. q. a. p.
q. d. ministerii. de. de. hoc. de. me. ignorans. me. accit. ut. sacri. ordinis. pon-
dus. qm. in. pulchro. licet. excubant. ubi. me. scilicet. multa. ex. monasterio.
h. mei. germana. uincta. caritate. secuta. se. cu. diuina. factu. dispensatione. a. p. p.
ut. ap. sep. ex. p. adorationis. placid. l. q. anchor. fume. restringeret. cu. catu.
in. scilicet. inestabili. impulsu. fluctuare. Ad. illos. q. p. de. de. ad. tucillim.
p. in. et. acc. uoluntaria. fluctu. fugieba. Et. licet. illud. me. ministerii. ex. mo-
nasterio. abstractu. a. p. h. q. m. m. occupationis. extinguat. in.
et. in. p. h. lectionis. alloq. cotidiane. me. aspiciat. op. uationis. ammalat.
et. cu. h. et. cogeret. co. placuit. sic. ipse. meminit. ut. libru. b. iob. exponere.
oportuit. me. p. uationis. epellerent. et. p. in. ueritat. uerit. in. in. et. in. p. h. et.
et. p. h. et. ap. in. hoc. q. m. in. onere. sup. p. uationis. addiderit. ut. in. solu.
u. h. h. et. p. allegoriaru. sem. ex. et. allegoriaru. sem. p. in. p. uationis.
et. h. et. adhuc. aliqd. grau. aduigentes. ut. in. et. q. in. in. in.



Plate VIII

OTC 39 (f. 2^r) (s. xii^m)

Decorated initial, embellished with interweaving foliage, introducing the preface of Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*. At the base of the page a foliate motif isolates a run-over of text. This is a low-grade example of the type of decoration common in England after the Conquest.

Ita enim di gl'am querit, te n sua. S. cum legat
 sibi homine exponente intelligit, cur ipse alius
 tat exponere. ac si post eos remittit do ut ipse
 homine, s. illo intus docente intelligant. S. uide
 timet, ne audiat a dno. Serue neqm, dant pecunie
 mea nummularis. Sic g hica que intelligunt
 cetis ul loquendo ul scribendo. ita ego qd, si
 que intelligo s. etiam intelligendo enque obliuio
 chidero, culpam ab eis pfecto n debeo, quoniam
 beat aliqd sic habere, qm suu ppiam, n forte
 Na ab illo : omie uetum: q atq. Ego sum uetm
 enim habent qd n accepim. Qd si accepim, qd
 qm n accepim. Qui legit, audientib, lictat ut
 agnoscat enuntiat. Qui aut ipsas lictat tradit
 agit, ut alii qd, legere nouerint. Vtq, cum dicit
 at qd accepit. Sic etiam qea que in tpe curi intell
 exponit audientib, tanqm lictat quas agnoscat
 tior lectoris officio. Quare pcepto qm intelligunt
 similis : tradenda lictat, hoc : pcepta qm sic leg
 Ut qm ille q legere nouit, alio lectore n indiget
 codice inueniret a q audiat qd ibi scriptu sit. Sicut
 pcepta que cona tradere accepit, cu in libro alio
 obscuritatis inueniret, qsdam reglas uidet qd
 teras tenent intellectu aliu n requirit, p que
 opai : reuegat : s. quib, da uestigis indagat ad
 cultu sensum sine ullo errore ipse pueniat. aut
 in absurditate prauę sententię n incidat. Quare
 qm & in ipso ope satis appareat possit hunc offi

labon nro n recte aliquem contdicere, tam si hui
 modi pbenno quib, libet obstitentib, conuenienter
 uideat ee respondu, huius inq, qm in hoc libro in
 quid uolum, tale nobis occurrit exordium.
 Epist. patorum. **A** v. Elii Augustini sororu doc
 trina inq, libet, p. 10. v. 1. DE DOCTRINA CRISTIANA.

QUE SUNT RES QVIBUS
 inicitur omnis tractatio scrip
 turarii. Modus inueniendi que
 intelligenda sunt. & modus p
 ferendi que intellecta sunt. De
 inueniendo pnt, de pferendo
 postea differet. Magnu opus
 & arduum, & si ad sustinendu dif
 ficile, uetor ne ad suscipiendu temerariu. Ita sane
 hie nob ipis psumet. Nunc u cum in illo sit spes
 pagendi huius opis, a q nobis in cogitatione multa de
 hie et iam tradita tenem, n : metuendu ne dant desinat
 utra, cu ea que data se cepim impendere. Omis enim
 n pando n deficit, dum habetur & n dat, ndu ha
 betur qm habenda. Ille aut ait. Qui habet, dabit ei.
 Dabit g habentib, id : cum benignitate utentib, eo qd
 accipiant, adimplebit atq, cumulabit qd dedit. Illi
 quing, & illi septē erant panes, anteqm incipent
 dari eturientib, Qd ubi fieri cepit, cophinos & spor
 tas satiat, tot hominu milib, impleuer. Sic g ille
 panis dum frangret accreuit, sic ea que ad hoc op

Plate X

LP 365 (fos. 120-228) (fos. 122^v-123^r) (s. xii^{2/4})

Illustrates the large, round clear type of script (the 'Llanthony hand') which is characteristic of several Llanthony books from s. xii^{2/4} and which resembles that found in contemporary manuscripts from other houses in south-west England. The articulation of the text by a simple initial, rubrication and 'thickened' capitals at the beginning of some sentences in the text-block reflects the level of decoration found in many other Llanthony books.

xxii **Q**uod rationalis creatura non in beatitudine adeptioe quiescat. & quicquid
 tudine optet. ut amem quod obtineat in terra infelicitate refugiat
 xxiii **D**e progenua rationalis creatura. & quod inquam naturalis appetit.
 nec in salute corporis nec in mundi huius sit querenda diuitia.
 xxiiii **Q**uid sit in diuites. electos. & reprobos. & beatum inuenit.
 xxv **Q**uod nec in mundiali amicitia. requies sit querenda. & ueniat.
 xxvi **Q**uod nec in corporis uoluptate nec mundi potentia. requies in.
 xxvii **Q**uod caritas sit illud iugum suauis. sub quo uera requies quoniam ueritas
 xxviii **E**xemplum de seipso. & sua confusione. & sione caritatis.
 xxix **Q**uantum errent qui de diuini iugum aspiciunt causant. cum quod illi
 bonis sentit ex reliquiis sit cupiditatis. quod quod requies. ex ista
 xxx **Q**uod hi qui de diuini oneris guntate quoniam. mundi potestate copu
 munt. & quod ceteris uirtutes sine ipsa uirtutes non sunt.
 xxxi **Q**uanta sit in caritate perfectio. & quod ipsa a ceteris uirtutibus distet.
 xxxii **Q**uomodo opera sex dierum ceteris aptentur uirtutibus. vii. uero diei requies
 caritati assignetur. & in uirtutem caritatis transfundantur.
 xxxiii **Q**uod in hac uita ceteris uirtutes caritati famulentur. & ipsa uirtus plu
 xxxiiii **I**n ueniente morte amici. tripliciter concupiscentia. & in diuina
 differat. & in epistola primus hic liber terminatur.
Incipit liber qui incipit de speculo caritatis. Cap. i.
EXTE NDISTI DNE SICUT
 pellem celum tuum. ponens in eo stellas
 ut luceant nobis in hac nocte. in quibus
 seunt bestie silue. catuli leonum rugi
 entes ut rapiant nos escam sibi. quod etiam

regis aquas superius ei. quibus per quidam secretissimas catarractas
 copluas circa cordis nostri ut multiplicet a fructu frum
 uini & olei sui. & non in casto sudore quam panem nostrum. & que
 rentes inueniamus. inuenientes pascam. & gustemus quoniam
 dulces et dñe. Anima mea. anima arida. anima stilis & ifrue
 tuosa. sicut his suauissimis copluis stillucidiis. ut & illi
 appareat panis ille celestis qui angelos pascit. quem pariter
 fugit. & sapiat in tunc palato meo ois oblectamentum. nec
 amplius suspirare ad ollas carnis quoniam reliquias in egipto. ut exi
 gent pharaone & ablati paleis lactis luteos exsolueba.
 Sone g uox tua in auribus meis bone inu. ut discat
 quoniam te amet cor meum. Amet te mens mea. ament te ipsa
 uiscera anime mee. amplectat te intima medulla cordis
 mei uniuersa. solum uerum bonum meum. dulce & delectabile
 gaudium meum. & quod amor dei mei. Quia non fallor animi
 delectatio. eo dulcior quam castior. eo suauior quam sincerior. eo
 iocundior quam latior. & palatum cordis cum sapientia quoniam dulces
 es. ois qui uidit quoniam bonus es. & hic loci capax tuus qui sumus es.
 Qui amat te capit te. & tunc capit quoniam amat. quoniam ipse a
 mor es. quoniam caritas es. Hec illa ubertas domus tue. qui inebria
 bunt dilecti tui. deficientes a se ut intendant in te. Et
 quoniam dñe non amando te. & hoc ex toto se. Descendat quoniam
 dñe in animam meam aliquam portumclam huius tamque dulcedi
 nis tue. qui dulcescant ei panes amaritudinis sue. Per
 ista cura sobrituncie experientia quod desideret. quod etiam

Plate XI

LP 397 (fos. 1-104) (fos. 4^v-5^r) (s. xii^{2/4})

This opening shows writing in the 'Llanthony hand' and the methods of
 decoration used in many Llanthony manuscripts, the chief purpose of
 which is the articulation of the page in order to facilitate easy use of the
 text. The preface has opened with a plain initial and red incipit (2^v). The
capitula are articulated by red Roman numerals and plain red, green or
 bronze initials (3^v-4^v). The first book begins (4^v) with an incipit in red and
 a plain blue initial in the 'minor boss-style'. Running-titles supply the
 book number. Within the text, the beginning of a new clause is marked by
 an enlarged and heavy ('thickened') capital letter.

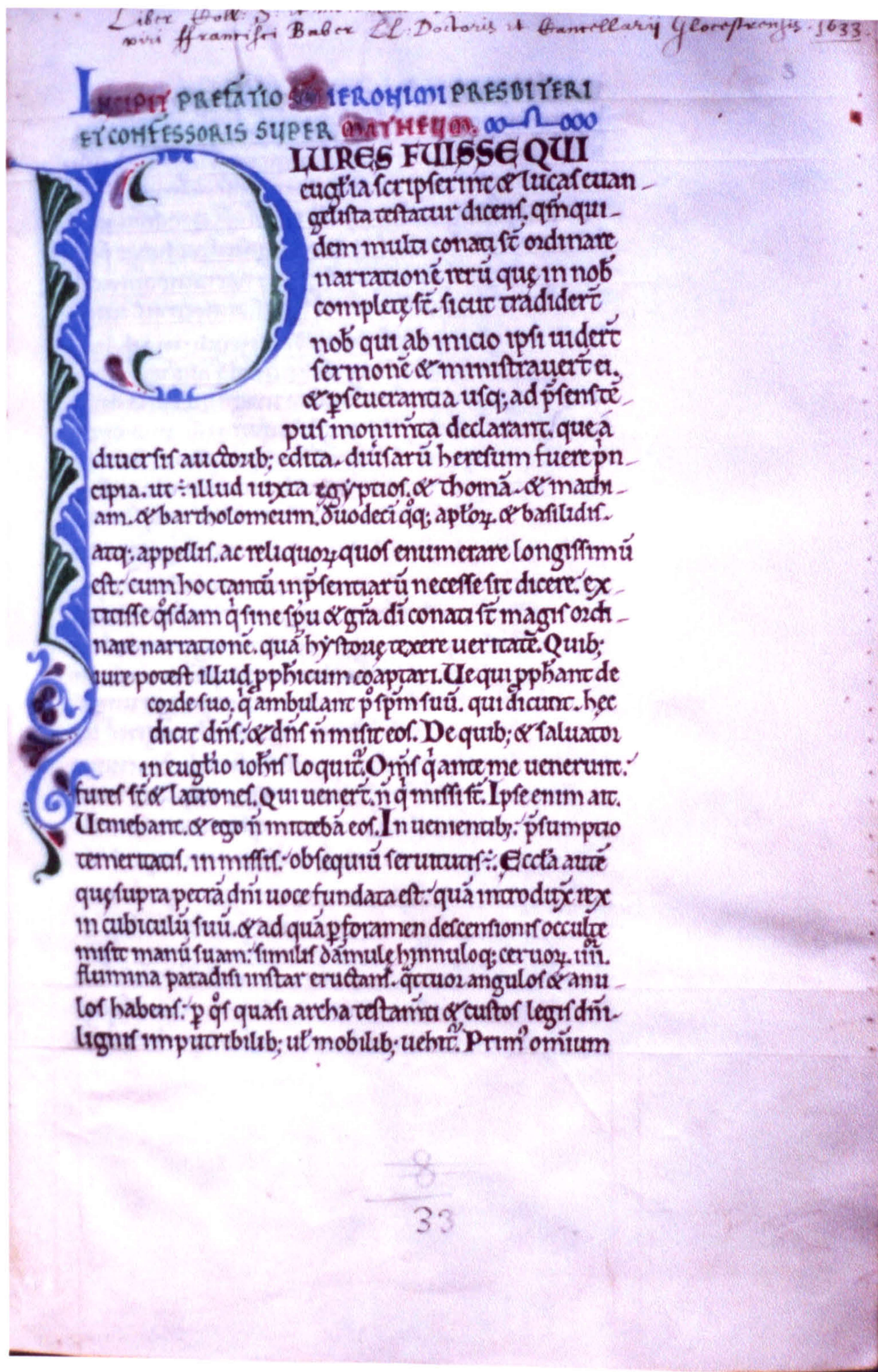


Plate XII

OTC 33 (f. 3^r) (s. xii^{2/4})

Another 'Llanthony hand' manuscript. The scribe also worked on two other books in this group, LP 189 and Rawl. A.374.



Plate XIII

OTC 33 (f. 80^r) (s. xii^{2/4})

An example of Thomson's 'Winchcombe flat-colour' initial style, found in several Llanthony books of this period. Most MSS containing this style were made at Winchcombe, but it may have been widely influential in the area.

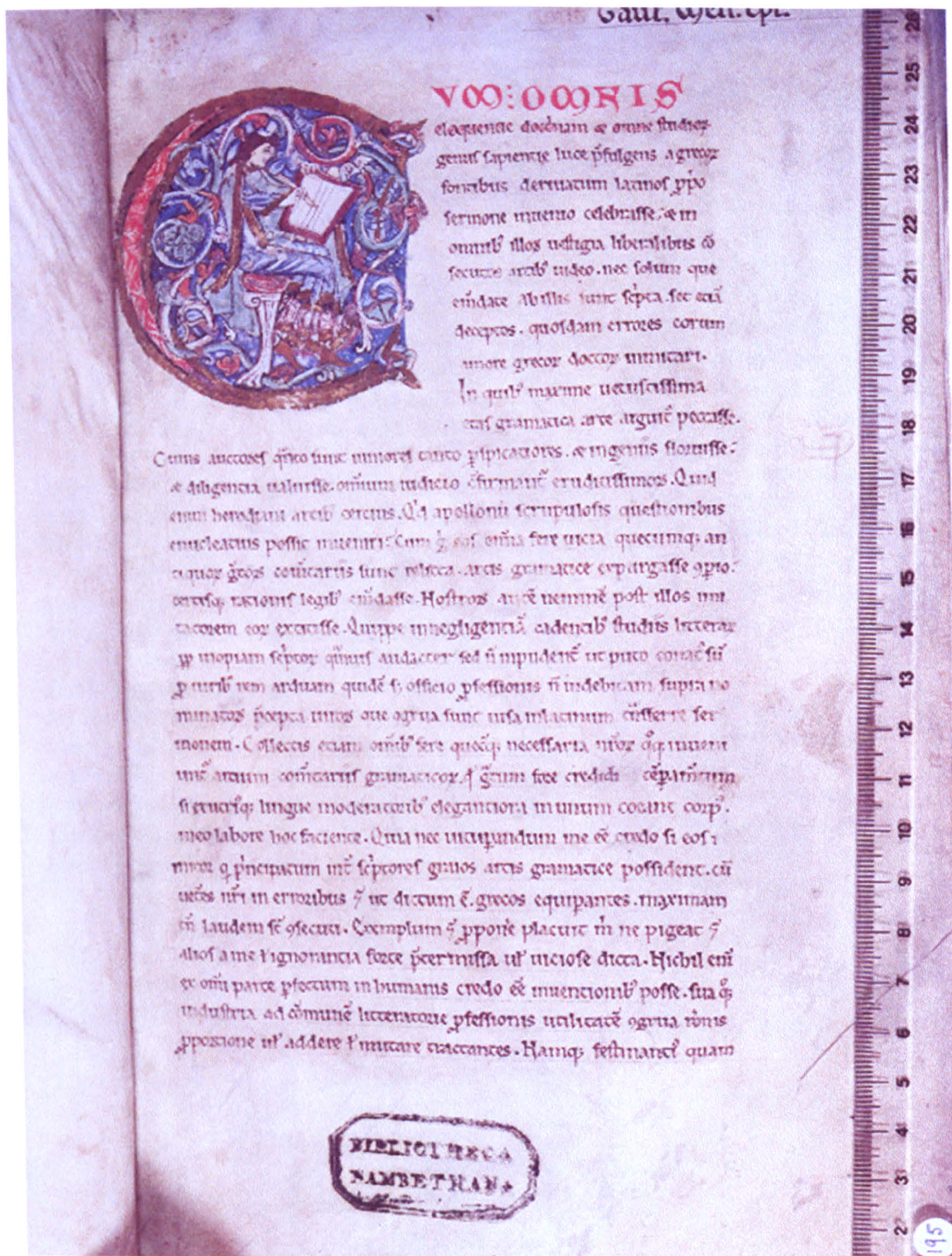


Plate XIV

LP 195 (f. 1^r) (s. xii^{med})

The *ex dono* of Geoffrey de Hennelawe, Llanthony's prior c.1185 x 89-1203 (partially erased): *dono Gauf. Men. epi.* The book opens with an historiated initial in worn and dull gold, featuring unusual gradations of colour for a Llanthony manuscript and showing a man writing in a book.

Omnis pusillanimes confortamini. Ecce dñs uest' ueniet: & sal
uabit uos. Tunc apient' oculi cecoz. & aures surdoy pa
tebunt. & saliet sicut ceruus claud'. & apta erit lingua
mutoy. Ante aduentu dñi fr's h'm in tanta caligine totu
gen' humanu uoluebat. qd neq; dñm cognoscebant. neq; uerba ei
audire uolebant. neq; bn opabant. n; pecca sua cofitebant. Cuiq;
an'e mutus infirmitatib; detinerent: placuit summo medico eas
uifitare. & suis medicinis eas releuare. S; notat ysaias ppha i
q'tuor languorib; eos specialit' laborare. Ceci. h. erant. & surdi. & clau
di. & muti. Cuiq; egitudine eoz sanare uellz. ne miseri desperet:
uoluit aduentu suu p'nuuntiare. uoluit consolationib; suis eos for
tare. Vultis scire q' sunt legati? ysaias. & alii pph'e. Audite g' qm
consolatione legatis iniungit. Vos ministri mei dicite miseris
q' iacent in dolorib;. q' desparant in infirmitatib;. O pusillani
mes confortamini. q' ecce dñs ur' ueniet. Ecce medicina ura. Ecce
sal' ura uenit: & saluabit uos. Eas infirmitates q' b; subiaceat
sanabit. Qa tunc apient' oculi cecoz. & c. Ceci erant: q' dñm igno
rabant. Surdi: q' uerba ei negligebant. Claudi: q' recte p' bona
opa n' incedebant. Muti: q' peccata sua tacebant. h' surditas.
& cecitas. & alia q' sequit': a p'mo hoie in ciu' supserunt. Adam
enī in p'mo p'cepto a deo s' in iuncto: surd' effect';. Cum enī
dictū sit ei. in q'cuq; die de ligno scientie boni & mali comedi
tis. morte moriemini: n' audisse uisus; morte moriemini. cū
n' fuit obseruator mandati. Cec' fuit. cū uerba diaboli n' intellex
dicentis. Et erras sic dñi. Cū putaret uidelicet se fieri dñm: ecce
catū iā gerebat animū. Qd deinceps s' imppauit dñs dicens;
ecce adam fact'; q' un' ex nob;. q' dicens deridendo. ecce adam
q' putauit se futurū dñm. & in se inuenit miserū. fact'; q' un'

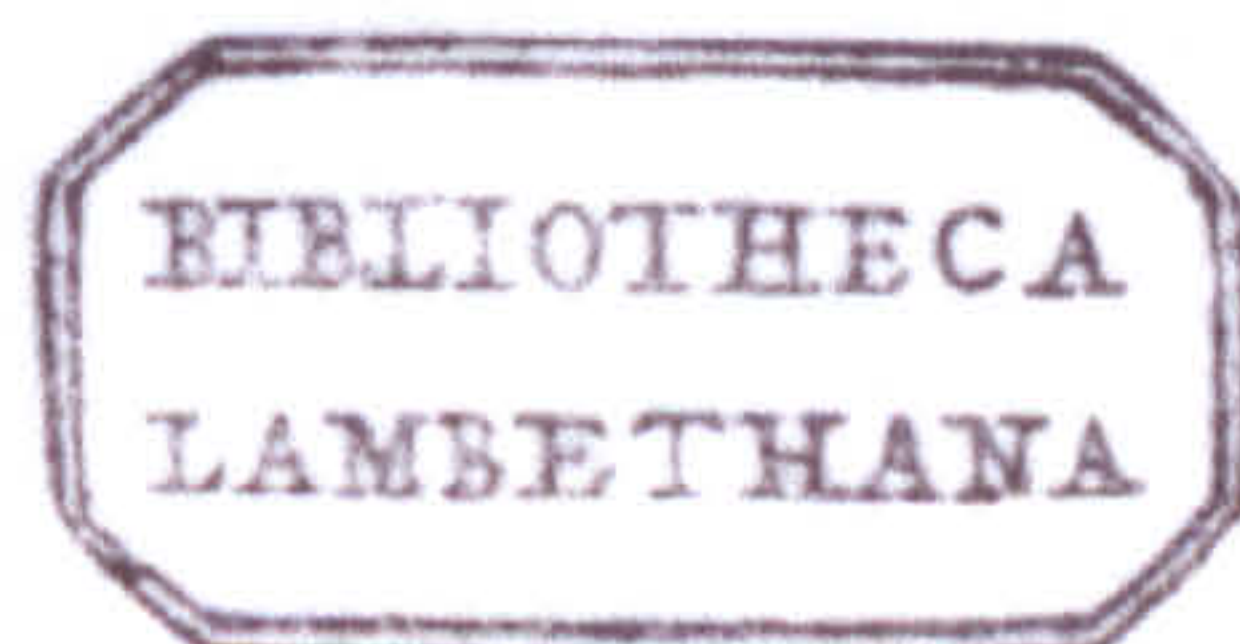


Plate XVI

LP 391 (f. 1^r) (s. xii^{2/4-med})

First page of the *Sermones* of Geoffrey Babio, showing a contemporary *ex libris* of Llanthony Secunda. This plain volume opens with a 'minor boss-style' initial and its broad script resembles the 'Llanthony hand'. Many twelfth-century Llanthony books begin in a similarly plain manner, although the ruling of this page is comparatively untidy. Stylistic traits and a contemporary *ex libris* make this a likely in-house product.

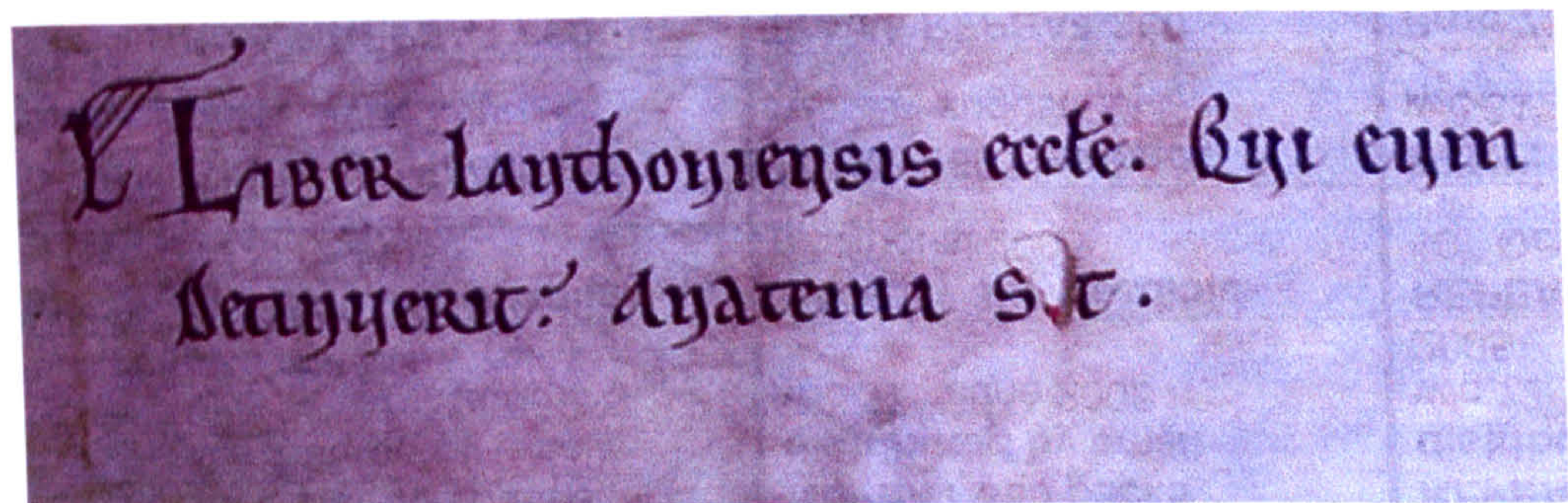
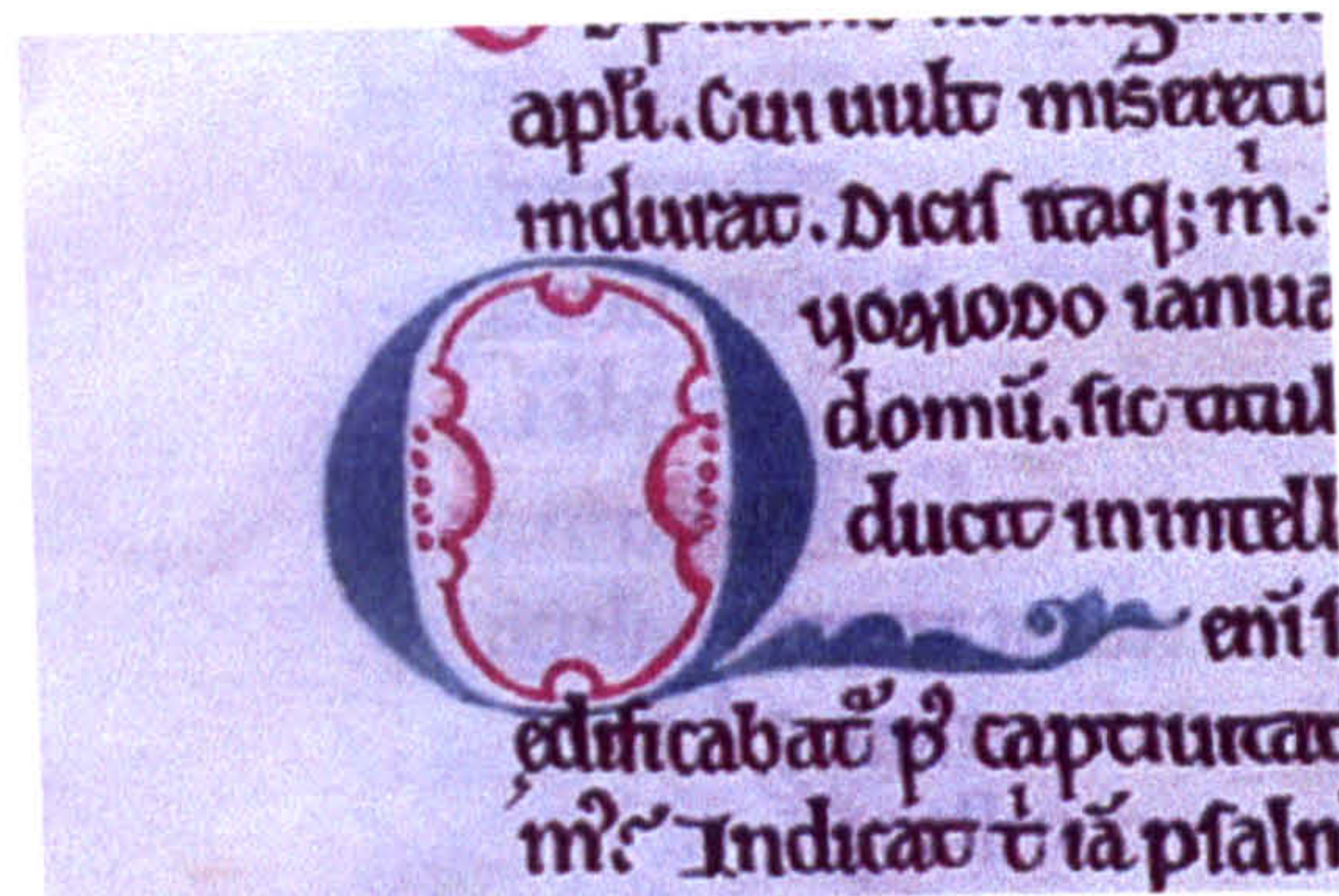


Plate XVII

OQC 309 (c.1150-60)

The initial shown at the top is very similar to the 'Llanthony fringed style' of initial but lacks the characteristic dots adjacent to the internal fringing.

The second photo shows an initial identical to the 'Llanthony fringed style' but for the fact that the internal fringing is accompanied by a row of small open circles rather than solid dots. This particular variation of the 'Llanthony fringed style', in which the dots have been substituted for small circles, appears also in LP MSS 119 and 164.

The MS opens with a flat-colour arabesque *E*, with fine red interior fringing similar to that seen in the initials of other twelfth-century Llanthony books (f. 1^v) (third from top).

The scribe of the *ex libris* (f. ii^r) wrote identically-worded inscriptions in LP 106 and LP 189.

¶ Liber Lanthony
sis eccle. Qui eum deti
nerit: anathema sit.

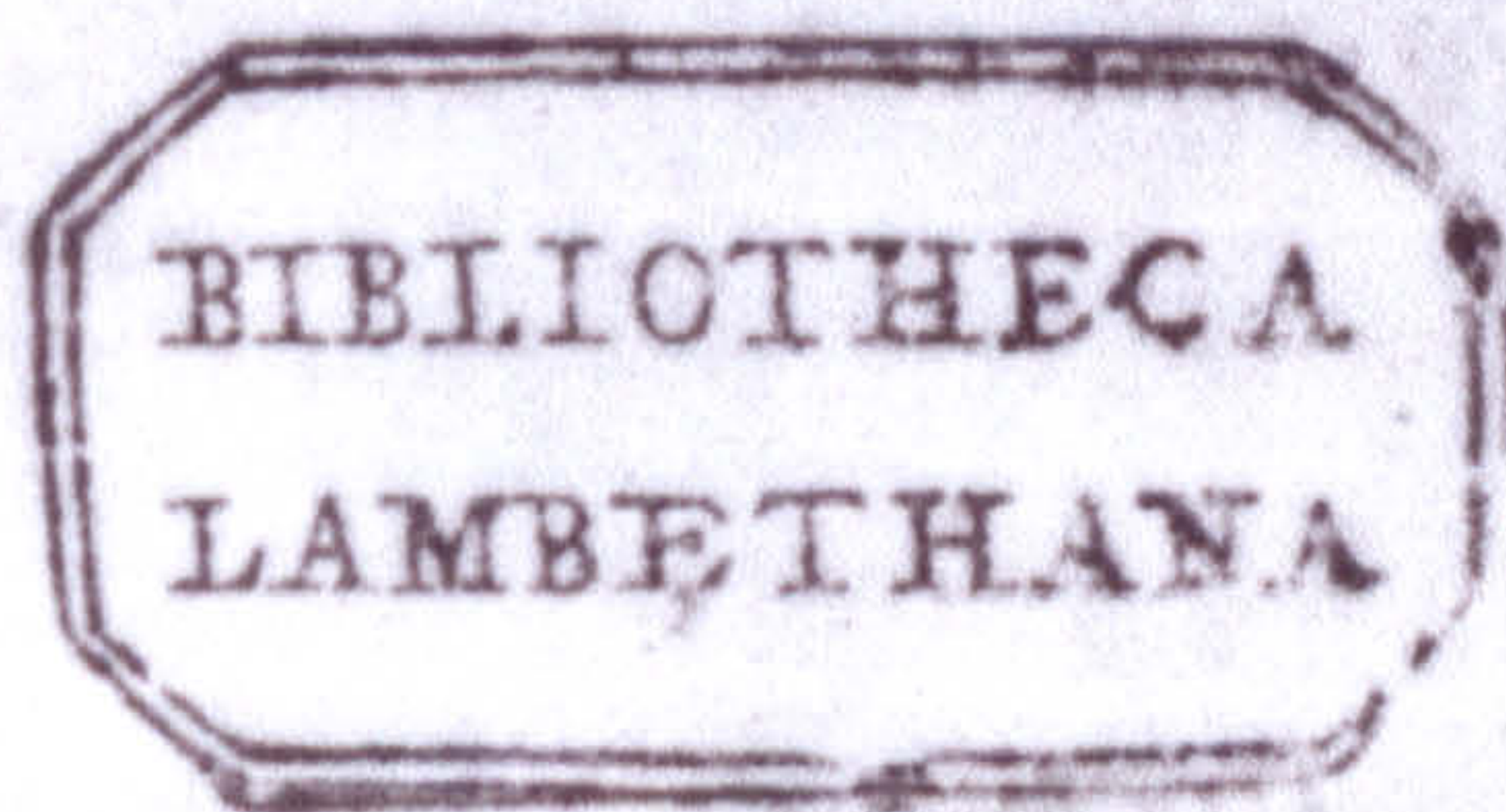


Plate XVIII

LP 106 (f. 1^r) (s. xii^{med})

Opening of Cyprian's *Epistulae*. The offset from the verso side shows the initials and Roman numerals which articulate the *capitula*. This contemporary *ex libris* is by the same scribe as and has the same wording as LP 189 & OQC 309.

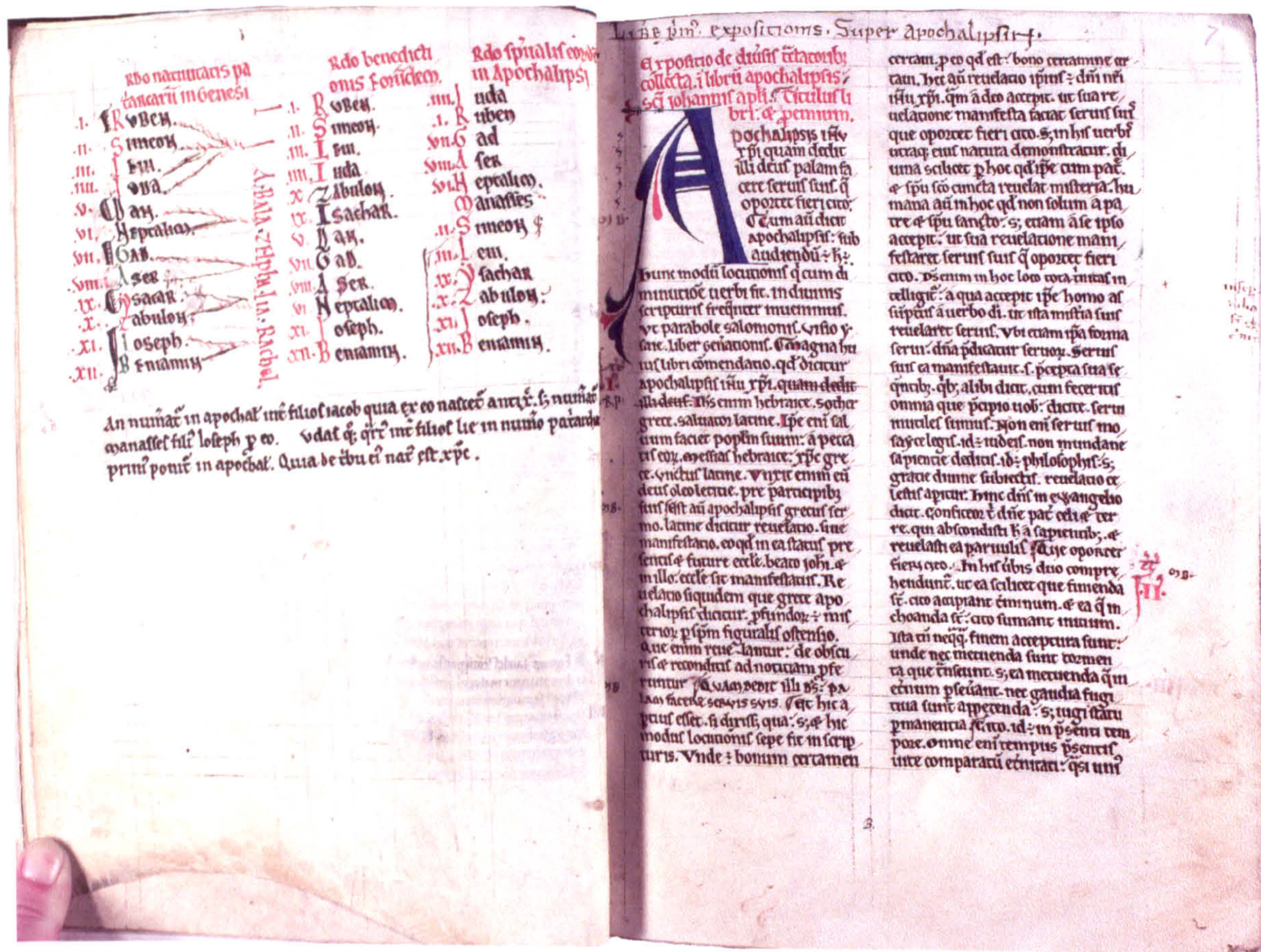


Plate XXII

MS 119 (fos. 6^v-7^r) (s. xii^{ex})

The sole copy of the commentary on the Apocalypse by John, sub-prior of Llanthony. The insertions, marginalia and corrections indicate that this was the author's own copy. The book's initials employ a range of designs, including 'minor' and 'major' boss-style. The opening initial A (f. 7^r) has a 'stunted' left upright and foliate flourishes, a style seen also in other twelfth-century Llanthony books

molatione agni. qui non sine carne
liber pmo apert & pea. vii. signacula
ei soluit. pmo eni ea que ueterite
stanto pfigurabant apienda erant.
deinde que pui. stat eccle clauda
tenebant manifestanda. Inqpiens
g apmo aduentu & apma p dca
tione baptismitis in apone pmi
sigilli p dca reuelatione naster
uq; ad scdm aduentu & in anglo
habente signu di uiru. qd ostendit
in fine apionis scdm sigilli. & in ap
tione septimi sigilli factu est silen
tium in celo. i. in terra qm dimidia
hora q; in tunc beato tunc & tunc
quiescit. Chis pbarat ueniamus
ad expositione scde uisionis.

*Visio scda de reuelatione mste
nouum p apionem libri ueteris
testamti & noui & vii. sigilloru*

DOST HEC
VIDI ET
ECCE HO
STIUS APER
TUS IN CELO.
Et uox pma
qua audim ta

qm tunc loquens mecu dicens.
Ascende huc & ostenda que opor
tet fieri cito p huc. Aug sup apo
chal sermone tertio.

Ostium apertu xpm dicit
q ianua est. Celu eccliam
dicit ubi celestia gerunt
sicut apls dicit in ista
re omia que in celis & que in terra st.
celu intellige pmiua eccliam de
iudeis. tam uero ex gentibz. Qd aut
dicit p huc n ad uisitudinem tps re

ferendum: s ad ordiue uisionum. Vi
dit eni huc. si corporeo intuitu s mte sic
sdicit: dnica die post ea scilicet que
sup uidit: uidit & ista que sequuntur.
Primasius sup
hunc locu sic ait. Ostia apertu
xpm dicit. nati & passi. ac suscitati.
q: ianua ipso dicente. ego scilicet hostiu.
Celu eccliam dicit eod sit habitacm
di ubi celestia gerunt. Hoc est qd sic
in celo uoluntate di fieri postulam
mra. Aliqn aut celu & terram ecclie
fia dicit. ppe tra que celu consistit.
Sive cum infidelis restis fidelium
p dicationibz adquiruntur. sicut cu
caro spui subdit sive cu terna cele
stibz reconciliata iungunt. Hiero
nimus. Iohannem apertu in celo no
tu testamti p dicator. Vidit iohs. & di
a ascende huc. Quando apertu osten
ditur dasti fuisse hominibz manife
stus e. Sicut aut & plane satis patefactu
est qndo xpc in corpore in celis ad pa
tr ascendit. Et uox pma qm au
dit tanqm tunc loquens mecu
dicens. Ascende huc. & ostenda
que oportet fieri cito p huc. Hiero
nimus sup apochal. Vox aut por
qm audierat cu dicit illu scdm
locutu. sine condicione arguunt
qui alii in pphetis in triangulo di
cunt fuisse locutu. cu magis ipse q
uenit ipse in pphetis locutus: Iohs
en exortatione ait. & omis ille
popls ueteris testamti qui ei p dca
tione audierat. illa uoce edificat.
Illa eadeq; uox inqt qm audieram
illa in qnt ascende huc. ide spe que
paulo ante filiu hominis in can
delabra aurea ambulante se uidit

pm

iers

clm

iers

Plate XXIII

LP 119 (f. 72^r) (s. xii^{ex})

John of Llanthony, *In Apocalypsim*. The initial opening the second *visio* is a variant form of the 'Llanthony fringed style' initial (also found in OQC 309 and LP 164).

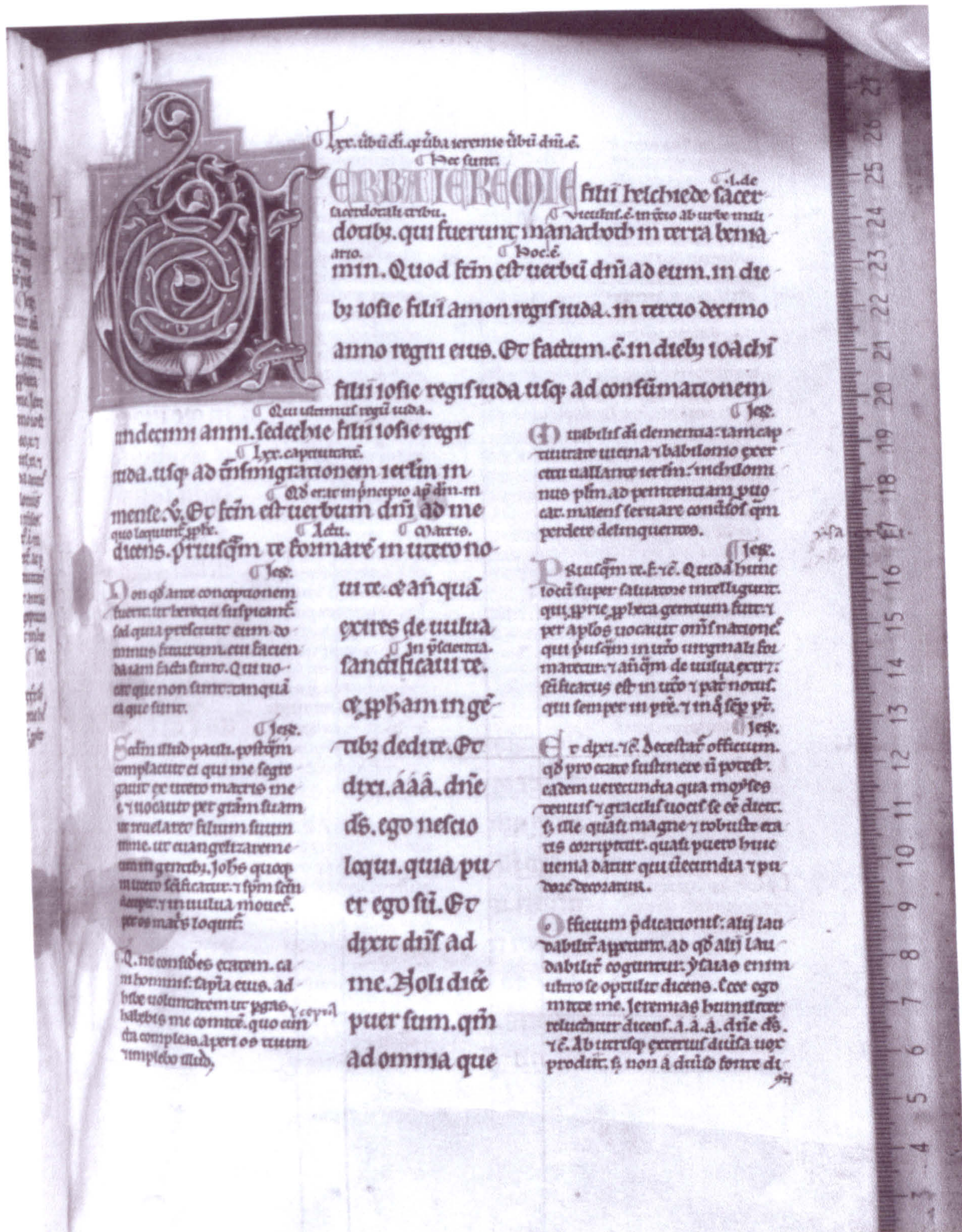


Plate XXIV

LP 134 (fos. 97-245) (f. 98^r) (s. xii^{3/4})

This initial to Jeremiah is composed of narrow foliage and a brown and orange dragon. A second beast bites the upright of the letter. This decoration is in a style related to one found in other books of west-country provenance.

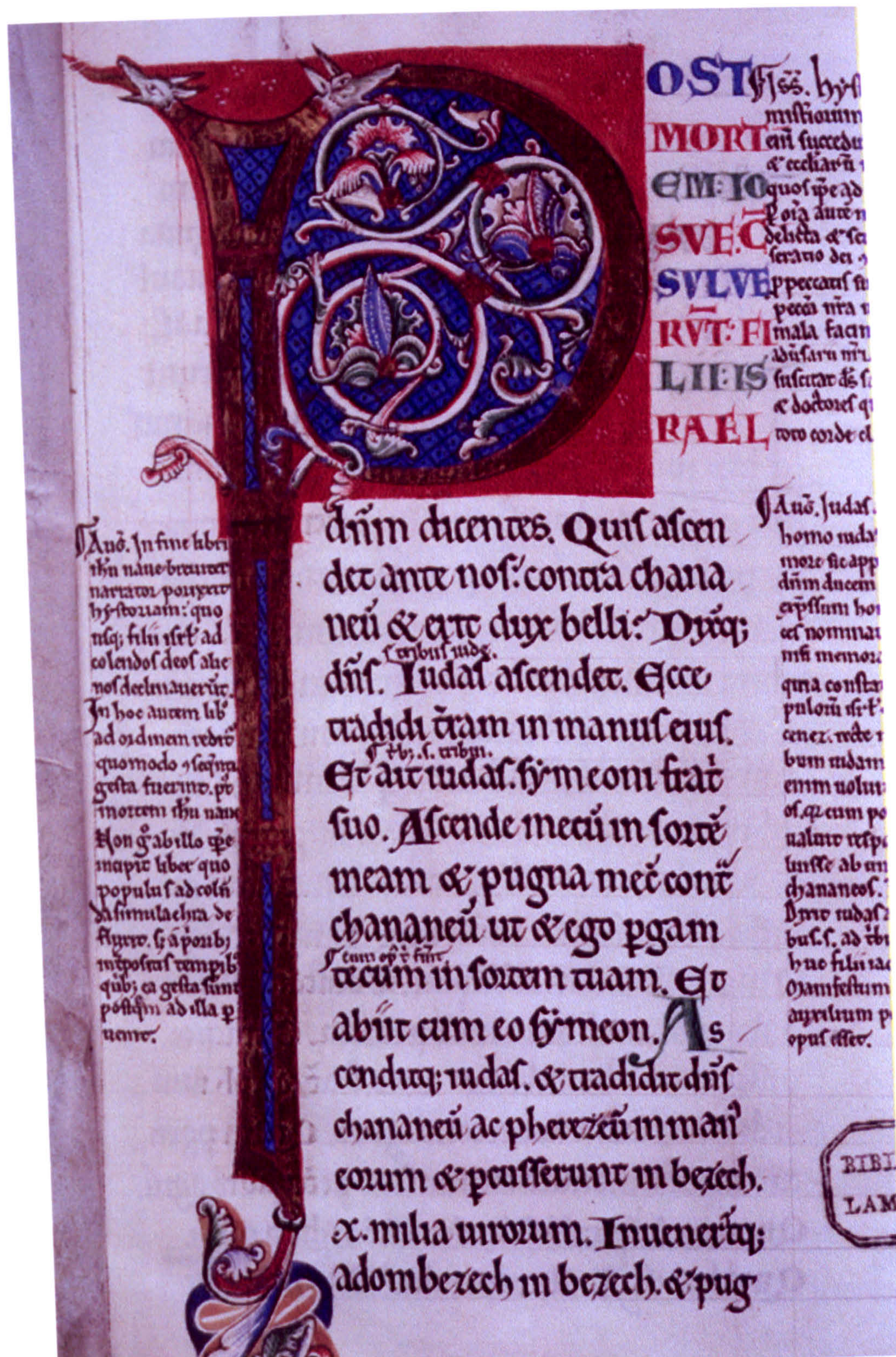


Plate XXV

LP 114 (f. 1^v) (s. xii²)

The initial to Judges, the finest in the book. Composed of dull gold, the bowl of the letter 'exhaled' by a beast-head.



Plate XXVI

Bodleian, Auct. D.2.1 (c.1190-1200)

F. 80 (top): Psalm 51, Ahitobel and Doeg before Saul. This is the finest twelfth-century book associated with Llanthony. The figures show influence from Mosan or Northern French painting.

F. 147^v (bottom): Psalm 101, Christ in Majesty. This initial is similar to one depicting the same subject in a contemporary book, OTC 58 (f. 180; s. xii^{3/4}; earliest known provenance the Carmelite convent in London, s. xv).

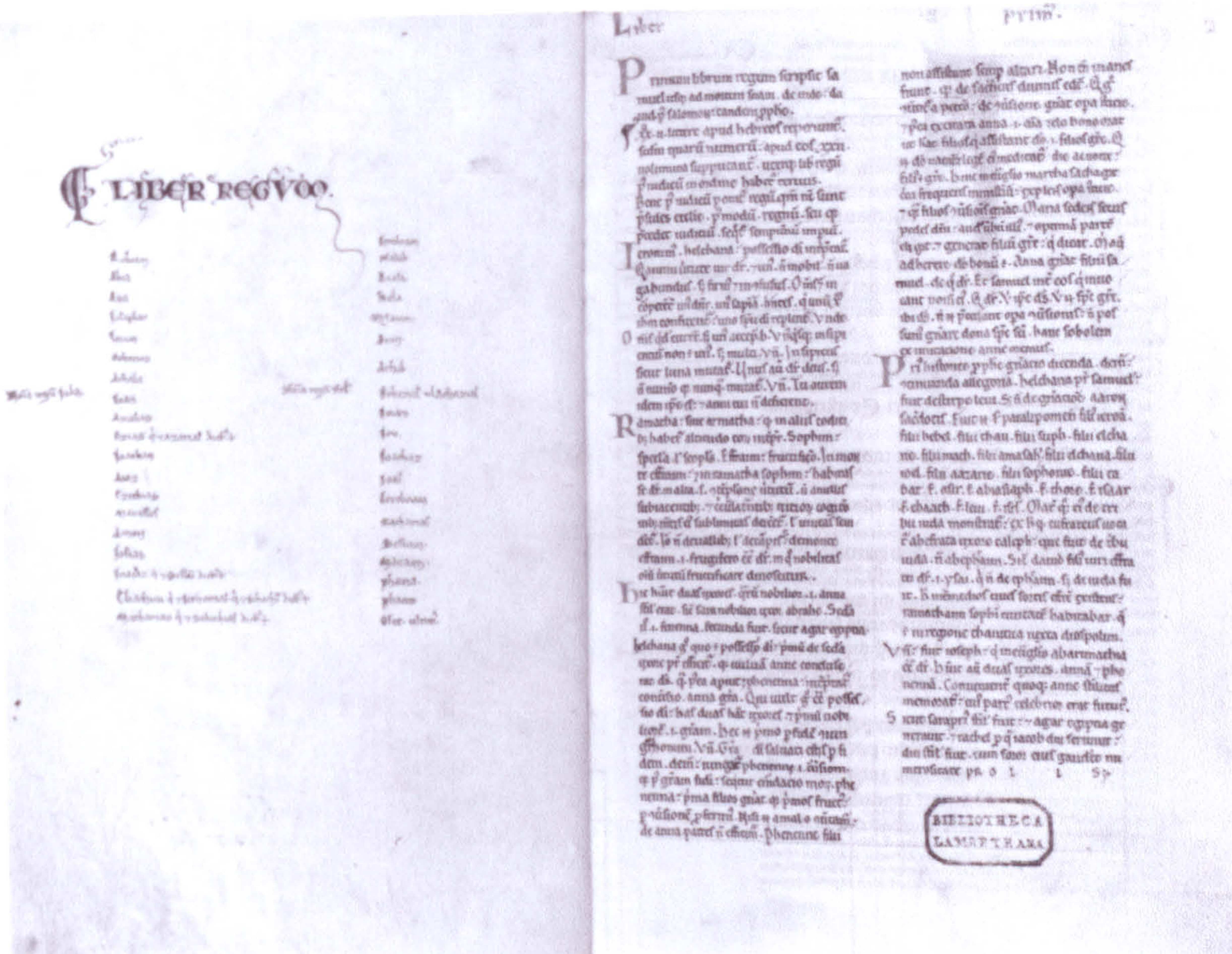


Plate XXVII

LP 85 (fos. 1^v-2^r) (s. xii^{ex})

Opening showing the distinctive red and black title of c.1200, accompanied by a flourished 'paraph' in the same colours, which is found also in a further four of Llanthony's twelfth-century glossed manuscripts (LP MSS 81, 208, 343, 349). These titles indicate that that books probably of disparate origins were in the same place at an early stage.

In anno ter. 10. qui 7 cha-
chim qui regnauit in iudea
7 ierlm annis. xi. cui successit
ioachim filius suus cognom-
to iechonias. qui tñ mense
regni sui capto ē āducib; na-
bugodonosor 7 ductus ē mba-
bilonē. cui successit patruus
suus sedechias filius iosie. ē
anno. xi. capta ē ierlm 7 sub-
iūsa. fuit autē ioachim pr. q
scitur pchm. filius: pchm.
in matheo. u. mñ uidetur u-
na generatio. ubi scda the-
serē sedechas desinit in ioachi-
filio iosie. 7 tñ incipit ā ioa-
chim: filio ioachim. quod ig-
norant porphiri: mathei ar-
guere falsitate nititur.

Regē iude. Non oīa. Si
reuelas philosophorum
libros. parte uasoz. i. dogma-
tum uitatis inuenies: q; quia
mādatū uingunt uitat; non
oīa uasa. si parte habe memo-
rantur. Inūam. Vbi cap-
duran. u. turris qm q abouen-
te mouerant pedes suos usq;
ad celū edificare conati sunt.
Vñ ā confusione linguarum
locus babilon. i. 9 fusio dicit.

Hinc arbitri hebrei dāme-
lem 7 socios ei fuisse eunuchos
scdm quod ysaias dicit czechie.
De semine tuo tollant. 7 faci-
ent eunuchos in domo regis.
Si autē de semine regio fuerit.
qstas q de genere dauid. sed
fortasse n coherent que sequū-
tur. 7 tyrannoz. pu. i. qb; n.
esset ma.

Philosophi arbitrant lin-
guam hebreoz. ēē. chaldaicā
q; abrahā de chaldeis. S; qm
pueri linguam q n noūne
docentur: forte scdm quozū
dā opinione abrahā chaldeorum
linguā 7 hebreoz habuit.

A NNO TERCIO
REGNI IOACHIM
duodecimo anno cepit
Regis iude.
phare ieremias
uenit Na-
bugodo-
nosor

rex babilonis ierlm &
obsedit eam. Et tradi-
dit dñs in manu eius io-
achim regem iude & par-

te uasoz dñi domus. Et
asportauit ea in terram
sennaar in domum dei

sui & uasa tulit in domū
dei sui. Et ait rex arphanaz pposito
eunuchorum suoz ut induceret de fi-

lius isrl. & de semine regio & tyrannoz.
pueros in quib; nulla esset macula. de-
coros forma & eruditos omni sapien-
tia. cautos scientia & doctos discipli-
na & qui possent stare in palatio re-
gis ut doceret eos litteras.
& linguam chaldeorum.

Anno. t. reg. 10.
Ottio iosia apha-
mone necho:
popls ioachaz.
filii ei regē sta-
tuit. quē phamo-
tuncū duxit i
egiptū. imposita
multa tñ. 7 p
eo eliachim fra-
trē ei uiso noīe
ioachim in reg-
nū pmouit. ut
regum 7 palpo-
menon restaur-
histona. h tñ
anno: uenit
nabugodonosor
7c.

Euasa tu-
te. Aliquam
reuerentiam deo
exhibuit. cui
uasa in loco re-
ligionis sue
posuit.

Lucas libe-
rales artes 7 lin-
guā. c. q quada
ppetate distat
ab hebra licet

Plate XXVIII

LP 81 (f. 95^v) (s. xii/xiii)

The beginning of the book of Daniel, marked by a gold A embellished with delicate green, red and blue arabesques, followed by rubricated capitals. This page demonstrates the complex layout of glossed books of the Bible.

ilogia fatua
nantib; dicitur

rbum: non pla
antui interio
it: unde mactet
pls uidebat
soler uiden:
huit per? uer
secum est ei.
f. r. p. homini
indo tollit cru
ur.

omnia que af
le omnib; que
gentu confir
dit idonea. se
muta prout
int. ut diuersa
gra refutget
ibulda: singul
ros gestosq;
minerrit.

Impletur ordinē dicitur
regem i regione: in qua
fuit. sacerdotē. & gentē
aut. i uxorem illius in
dicat.

Doce drama sc
tura: in his qd comenda
re uolunt: n solum mo
res: s; etiam parentes o
portere laudari. ut qd
beredicanō iure: puri
tate hie uideant: illi q
laudam. Hobilatatur
itaq; iohis baptista: pa
rentib; miracul. mou
bi. mune passione. Sic
samuel sic

ysaac a pa
rentib; no
bitate pie
tatis accepit: i apu
quā postero
relinquit. in tem
pore of

fici patris dñi: con
ceptus ē
iste: qui pa
trem dñm
predicauit: saturat:
significat
mariam: que plena deo
fuit.

Piena laudatio. q;
genus in maiorib; more: in
equitate offitū: in sacdo
no. factū: in mandatis. u
dicum: in iustificationib;
comprehendit.



in diebus he
rodif regis
iudee sacerdos
quidā nōie
zacharias.
de uite abia.
& uxor illi de
filiab; aaron.
& nomen ei
elizabeth. Er
rant autē iu
sti ambo an
te deum: iuste
dentes in om
nib; manda
tis & iustifica
tionib; dñi:

Vitulus: sacerdotat
hostia. p. uiculu ergo: hoc etian
gelum figuratur. in quo: a sa
cerdotib; inchoatur: i in uicu
lo consumatur. i. xpo. qui: p
mundi uitā immolatur.

Non solum a parentib;
s; etia a pgenitorib; nobilitat
baptiste monstrat. non sclar
potestate solum: s; religione.
latet eni parentes pnuntius ba
bere debuit: ut qd iure nature
infusa fidem aduenit xpi pdica
ret.

Zacharias: memor dñi: cui ap
paret angls: a dñis altaris. qd
ei q dñi memor ē: demonstrat
finitium.

Cum dauid cutu domi
dñi ampliaret: iunista sacer
dotu in xpm. solum diuifit. in
quib; familiā abia. de qua za
charias: foris octaua contigit:
ut preto noui testamti. in octa
ue foris uite: nascat. quia per
octo: nouū. sicut p septem: ue
tus testamtu sepe declarat.

Ante dñm non corā hominib;
quia omnis stertit: in lege ma
ledicta fuit.

Prius ē mandatu.
scdā. iustificatio. cū eni man
data cetetib; obedim: in man
data dī incedim. cum recte y
congrue iudicam: tenere dñi
iustificationē uidem. sñ quer.
Ecce temperata iustitia. Pleriq;



Plate XXIX

LP 102 (f. 7^v) (s. xii/xiii)

An elegantly decorated book. This initial marks the beginning of Luke and is a rare representation of the Evangelists or Evangelist-symbols as a tetramorph. This volume contains decoration by an artist associated with St. Albans, the 'Simon Master', who executed four of its initials.



Plate XXX

LP 63 (f. 142^v) (s. xii/xiii)

Detail showing the 11-line silver *Cantate* initial, inhabited by a man holding a scroll and gesturing towards *ps dauid* in the text. This is presumably a depiction of the psalmist, traditionally identified as David.

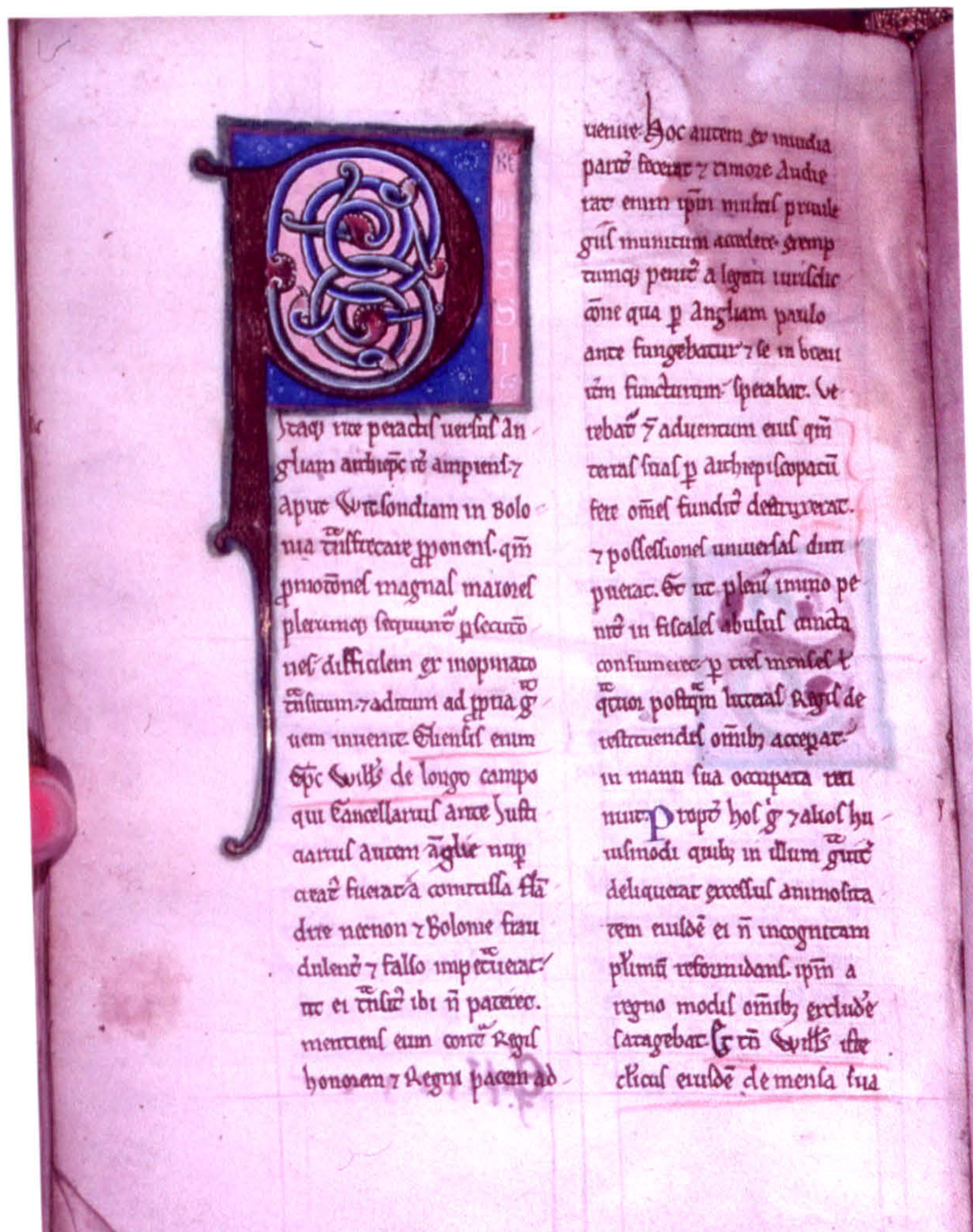
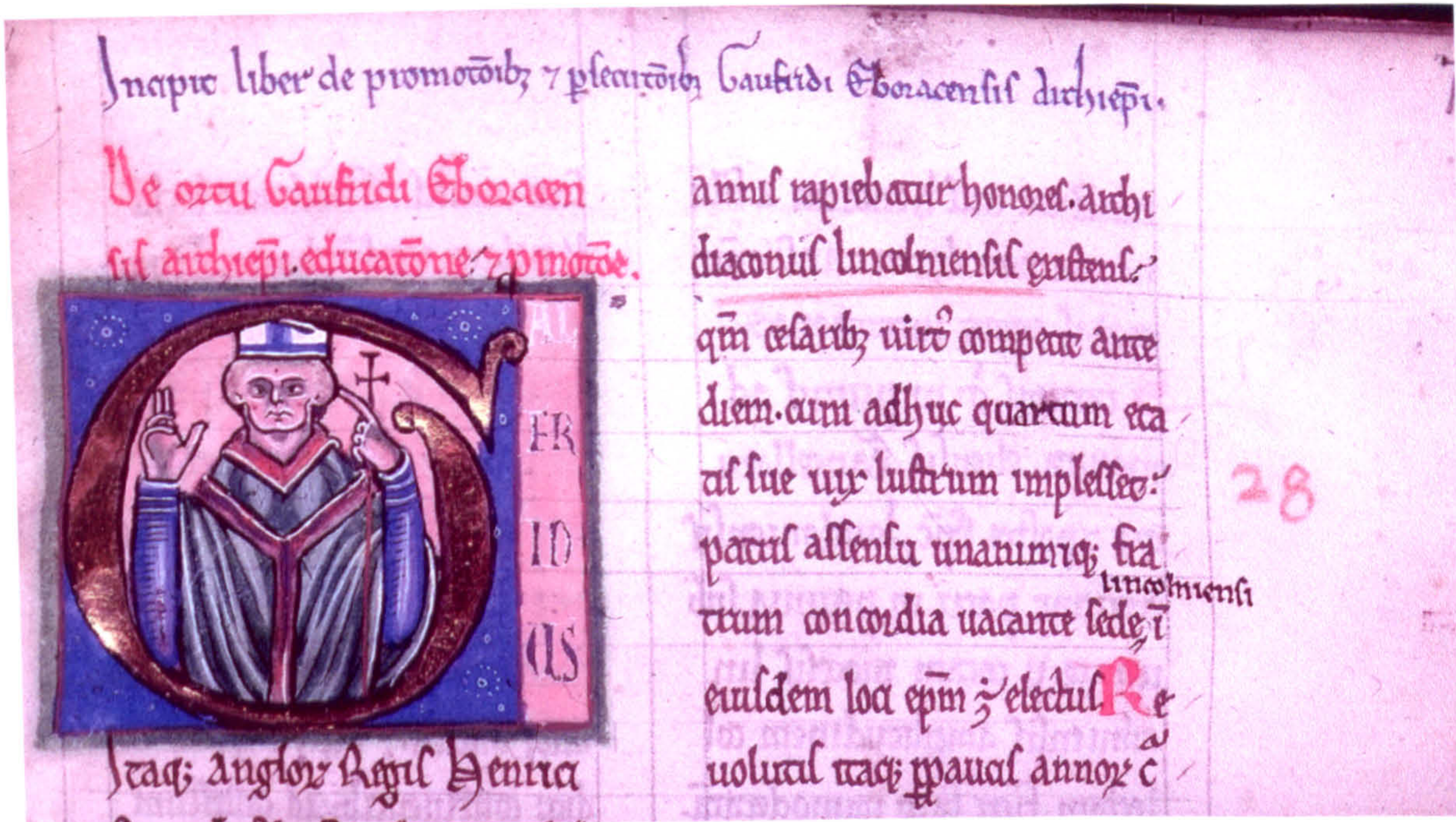


Plate XXXI

CCCC 390 (p. 7 [top] and p. 30 [bottom]) (c.1200)

The only extant copy of Gerald of Wales's *Vita Gaufridi*. These initials, the top one depicting the subject of the work, Archbishop Geoffrey of York, resemble other sub-Channel-style initials in west-country books.

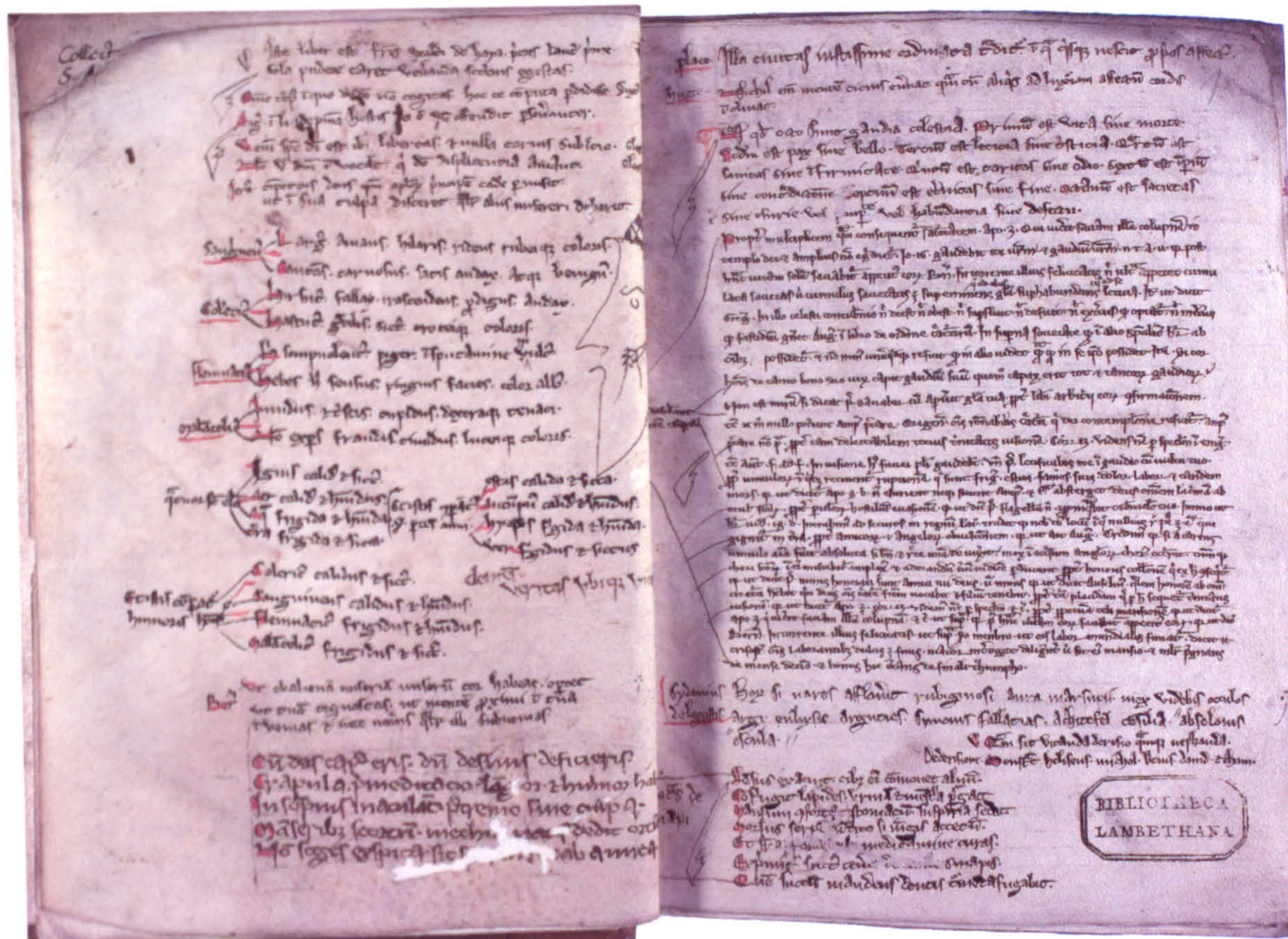


Plate XXXII

MS 431 (fos. i, 1-7, 16-88) (fos. i^v-1^r) (s. xii^{ex})

The ownership inscription of Walter de Haya (at the very top of f. i^v) is one of the only pieces of evidence for book ownership at Llanthony Prima. Three candidates for this book's owner are: Walter, 10th prior of Llanthony Prima (occurs 1217 x 1227); Walter (occurs 1266-c.1281); Walter (occurs 1305, 1314).

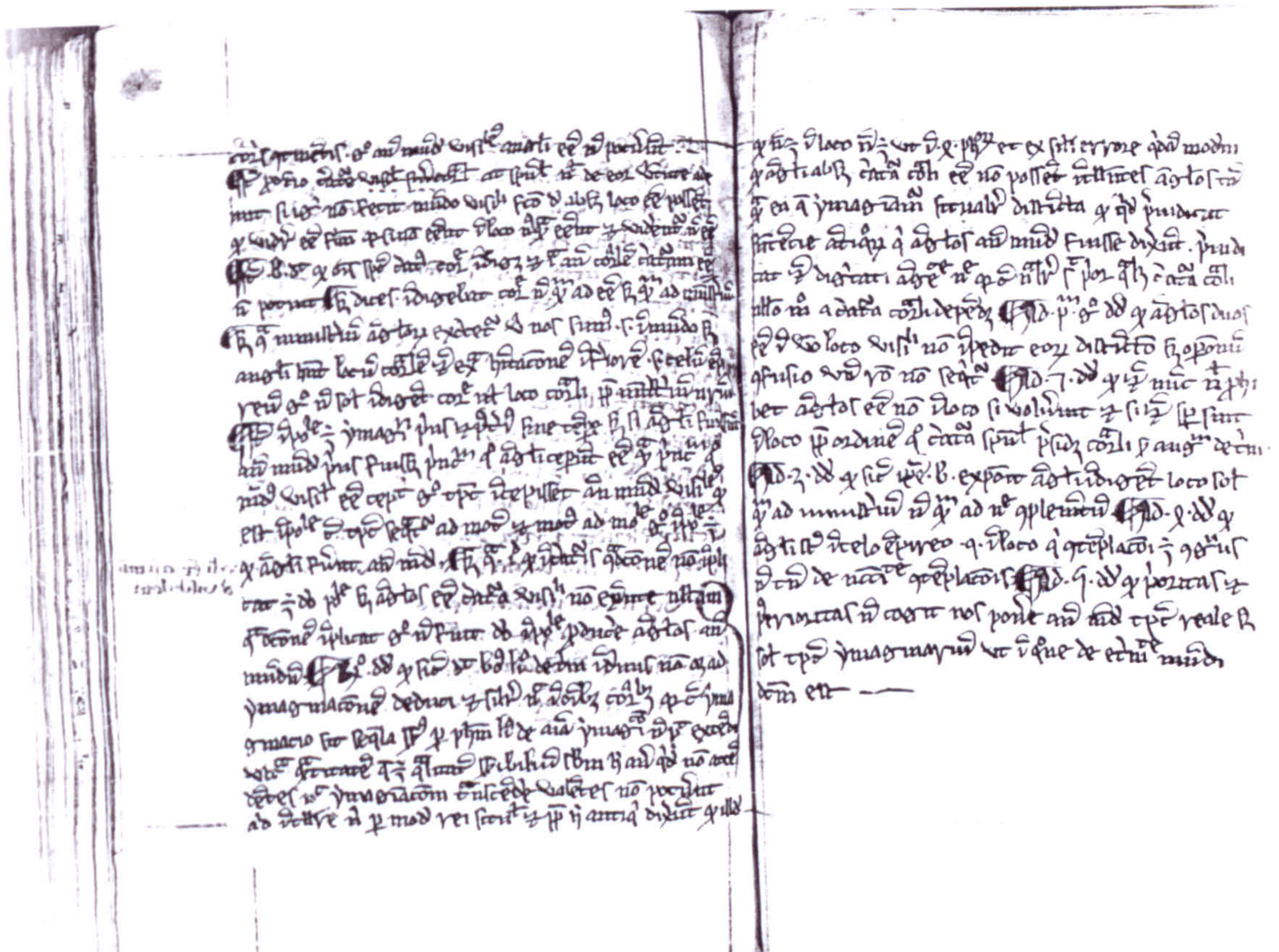


Plate XXXIV

LP 394 (fos. 107^v–108^r [top] and fos. 108^v–109^r [bottom]) (s. xiii²)

A book whose appearance is representative of many thirteenth-century volumes of Llanthony provenance.

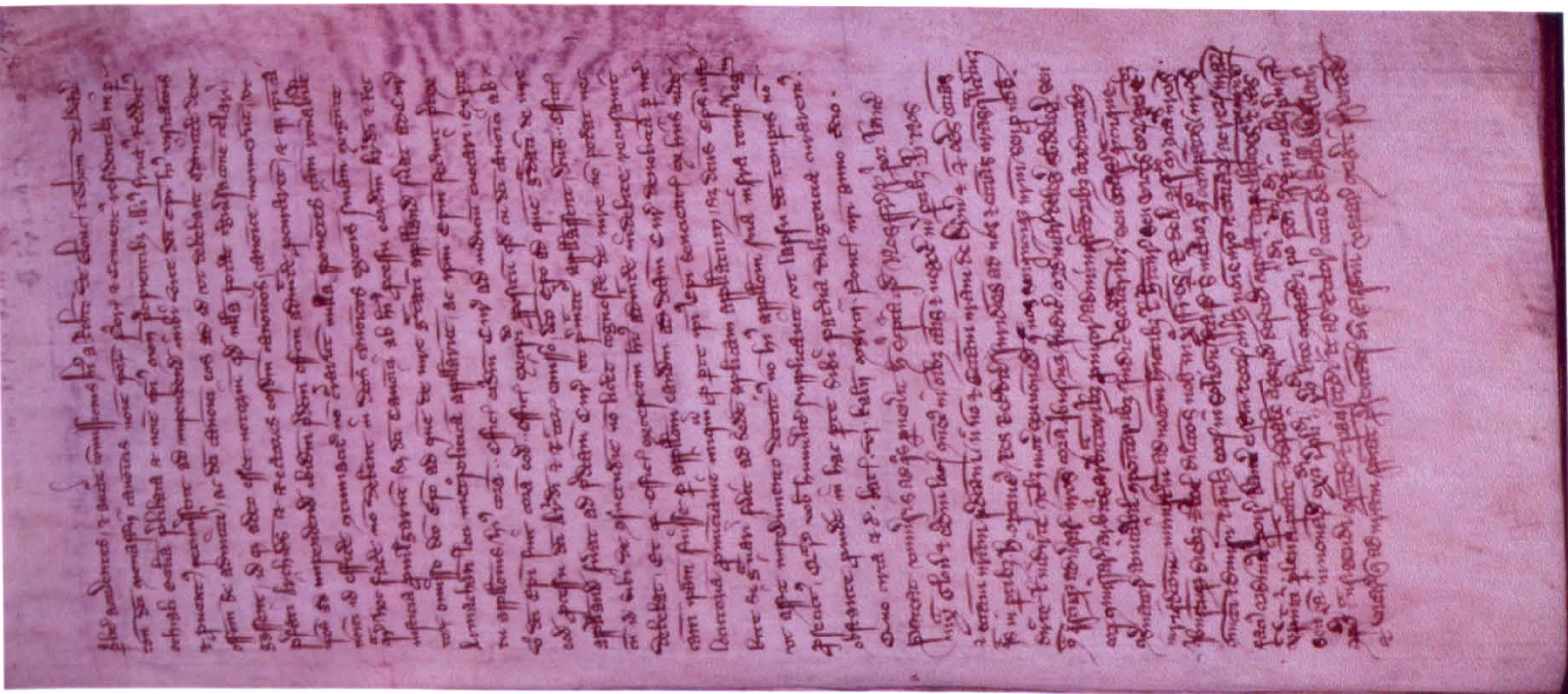
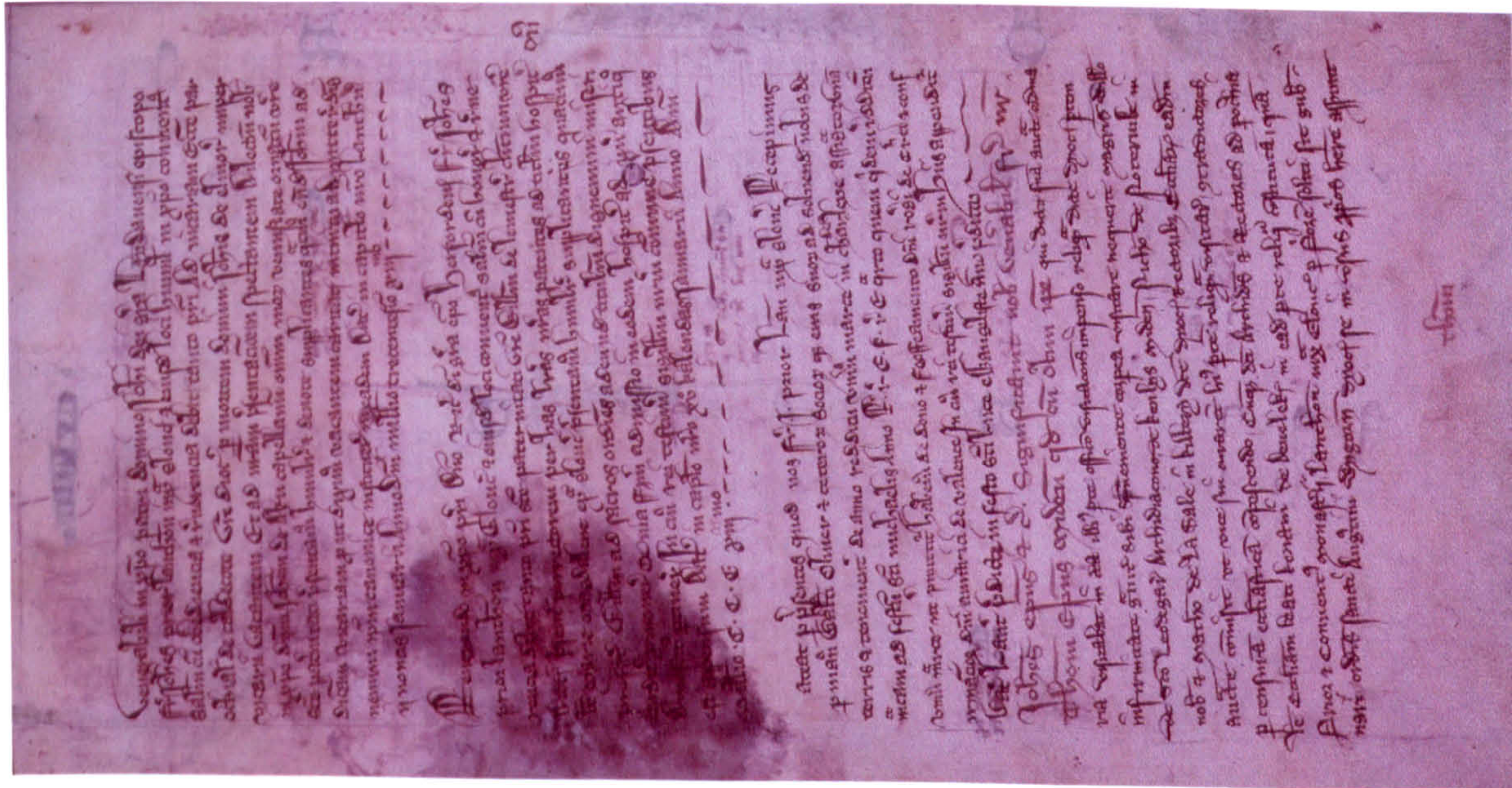


Plate XXXVI

Fitzwilliam, McClean 145 (bottom to top: fos. 1^r, 143^v, 144^r) (s. xiii^{ex})
Deeds copied onto the final folios demonstrate Llanthony Secunda provenance.

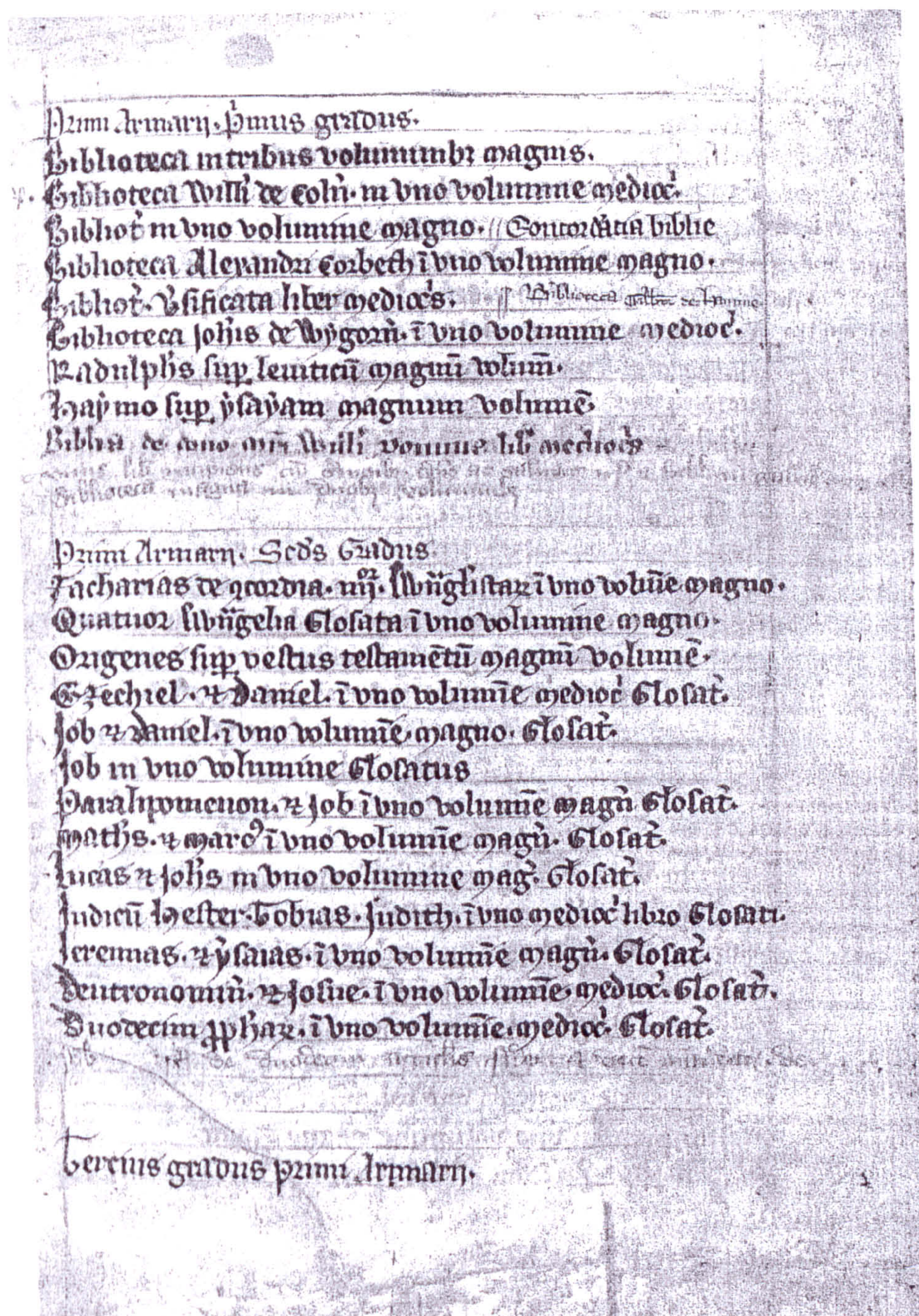


Plate XXXVII

Harley 460 (f. 3^r) (s. xiv^{med})

Llanthony Secunda's library catalogue, showing the listings for and additions to the first two shelves of the first *armarium*. A16.11 records the Bible that Master William Doune once borrowed from Llanthony. A16.12-13 and A16.27 (the final entries on each shelf) were added by the hand of the 1380 audit of the collection.

+ De reglā iuris. i in eodē quarto tolii et olim.
 + Distinctiones sup decreta cum quibzda sermonibz qñ?
 + De origine iur canonici niger quatu?
 + Panome iuonis libellus ligatus.
 + Omne questionū sū decreta libell? niger.
 + Casus Bernardi libri duo. quor? un? ligat? alt? qñ?
 + Titul? sū eodit? et libri institutionū i vno volūe magnū
 + Lib? sententiarū per humbardi i vno volūe magnū
 + Innocēti? magnū volumē. cū alio corco. Supculū iudiciale magnū volumē.
 + Lib? decretalū magnū volumē. vno hostiens? Sert? lib? decretalū.

+ Quarti Armari. Berens gradus. Vita sū cōmū achiem.
 + Vita sū thome magnū volumē. Reginū de sū victore fr omē
 + Macla beate marie ligat. Itē eodit? cap lāchi Itē titū sū. s. fr qñ
 + Hugo de sacmētis et passio. s. thome i vno volūe sū et mar? Itē de vi
 + Liber odonis mediocre volumē. [Itē yabucodonosor i vno volūe sū.
 + Distinctiones aug? de s. victor? et meditacōes Bernardi lib? medicis.
 + De pena et origine pilati. pūis libellus ligat?
 + Liber. R. leward de disciplina viuendi et tēplū dñi i vno libello.
 + Ars kalendarū pūis libell? ligat? modici pūis.
 + Sūma magrī Symonis de Apuleia qtern? ligatus.
 + Liber. R. monachi pūis libellus ligatus.
 + Hugo de vanitate mundi libellus ligat?
 + De fide et spe libellus ligatus. [Synagoge qñ? nig?
 + Distinctōes qñ? didascalico hugonis et finōes qñ? Alencō ecclē
 + Calliodor? sup? topicam libello ligato.
 + Augustin? de differēcia spū et aīe et decreta vificata i vno
 + volumē. Tabla sū decta i vno libello pūo ligato.
 + Sūma de vicis capitalibz libell? ligat?

Plate XXXVIII

Harley 460 (f. 8^r) (s. xiv^{med})

Library catalogue of Llanthony Secunda, showing entries A16.269-302.
 Entries A16.277-81 (in a secondary hand at the end of the first shelf on this
 folio) are the only six books from John Lecche's donation that were added
 to the catalogue.

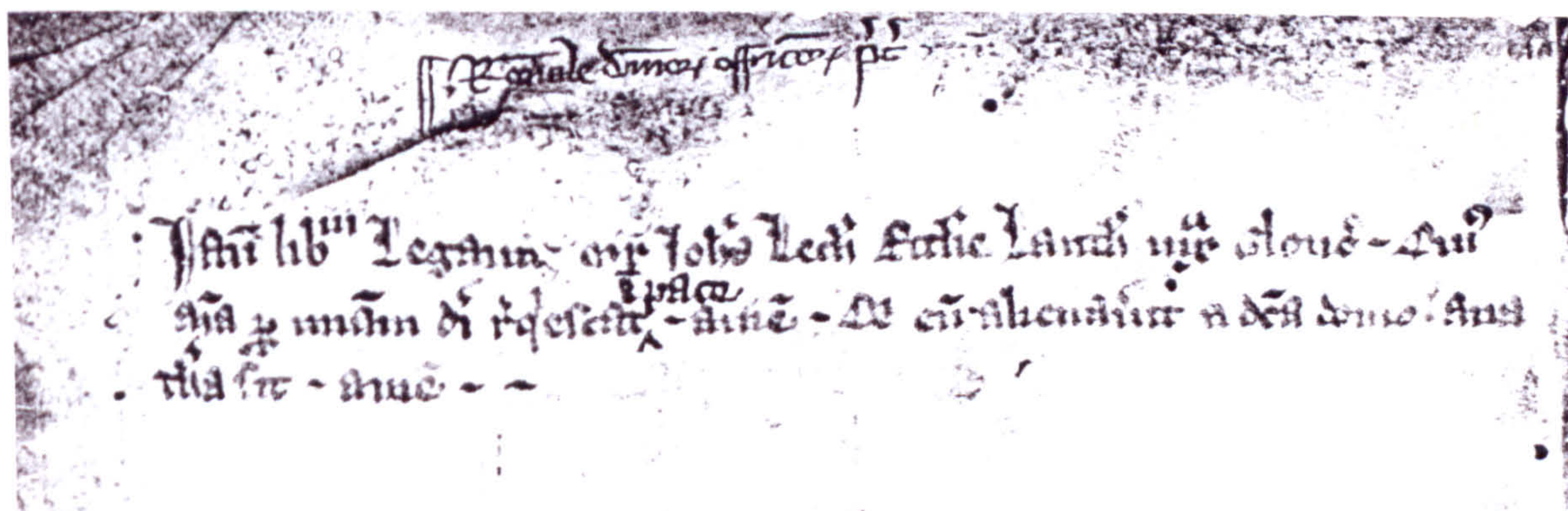
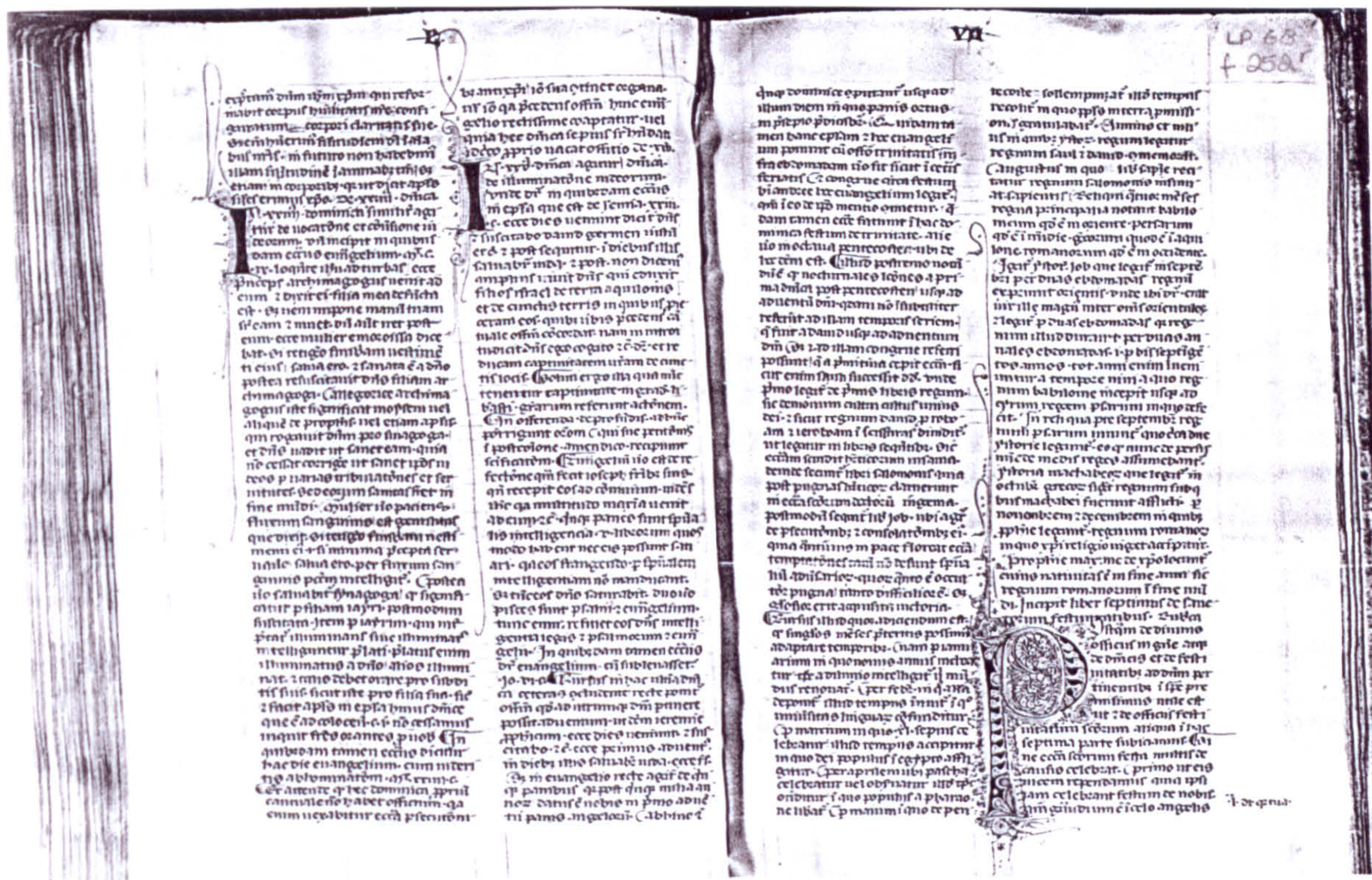


Plate XXXIX

LP 68 (f. 252^r [top] and flyleaf [bottom]) (s. xiv)

One of the fifty-seven books that John Lecche bequeathed to Llanthony, LP 68 holds William Durandus the Elder's *Rationale diuinorum officiorum* and is by an Italian hand. The wording of his *ex dono*, shown here, is fairly uniform all of the books in which it is found.

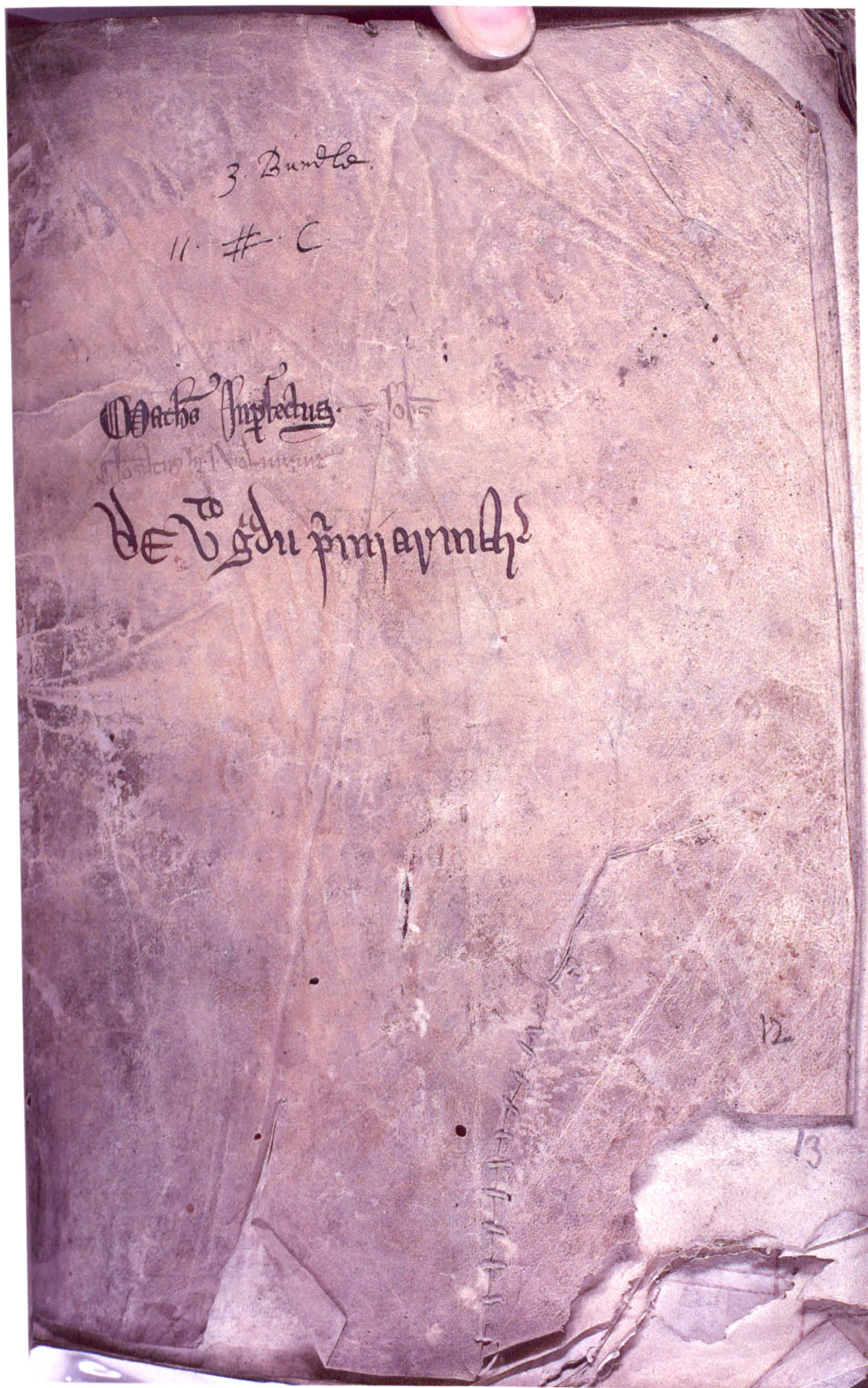


Plate XL

MS 217 (fos. 86-126) (s. xiii) (f. 86)

One of five shelfmarks in Llanthony manuscripts. All record that the volume in which they are found belonged in the first *armarium*.

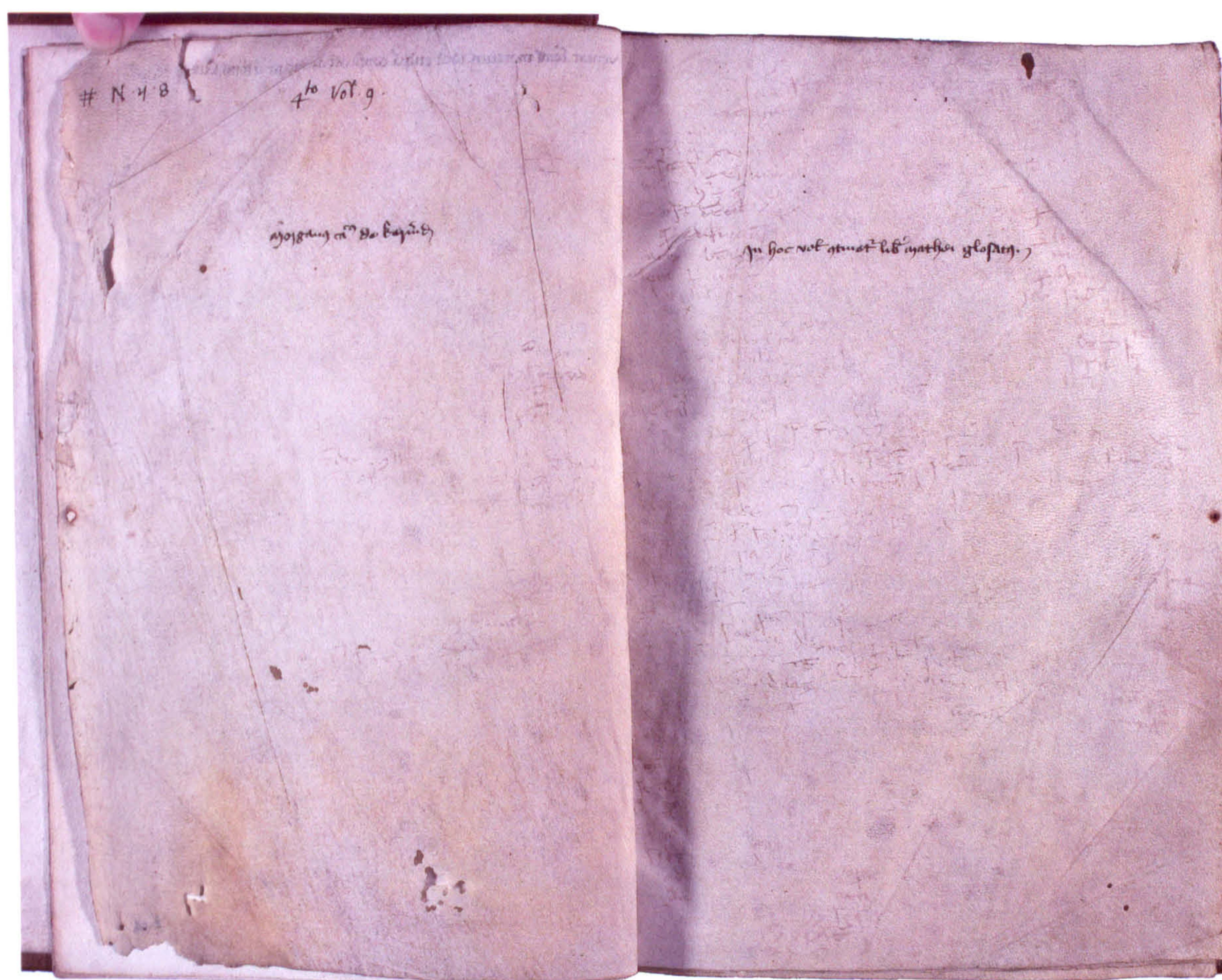
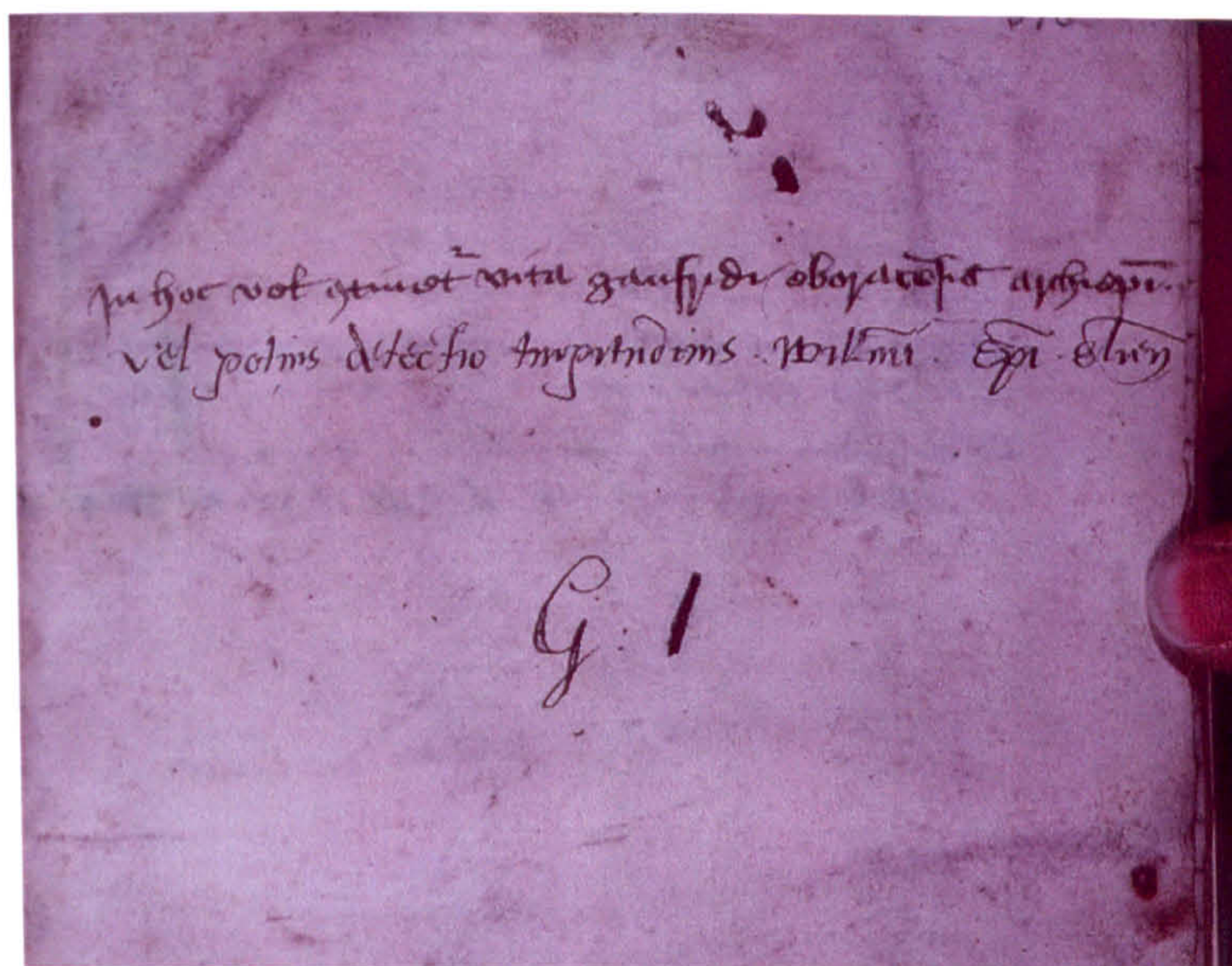
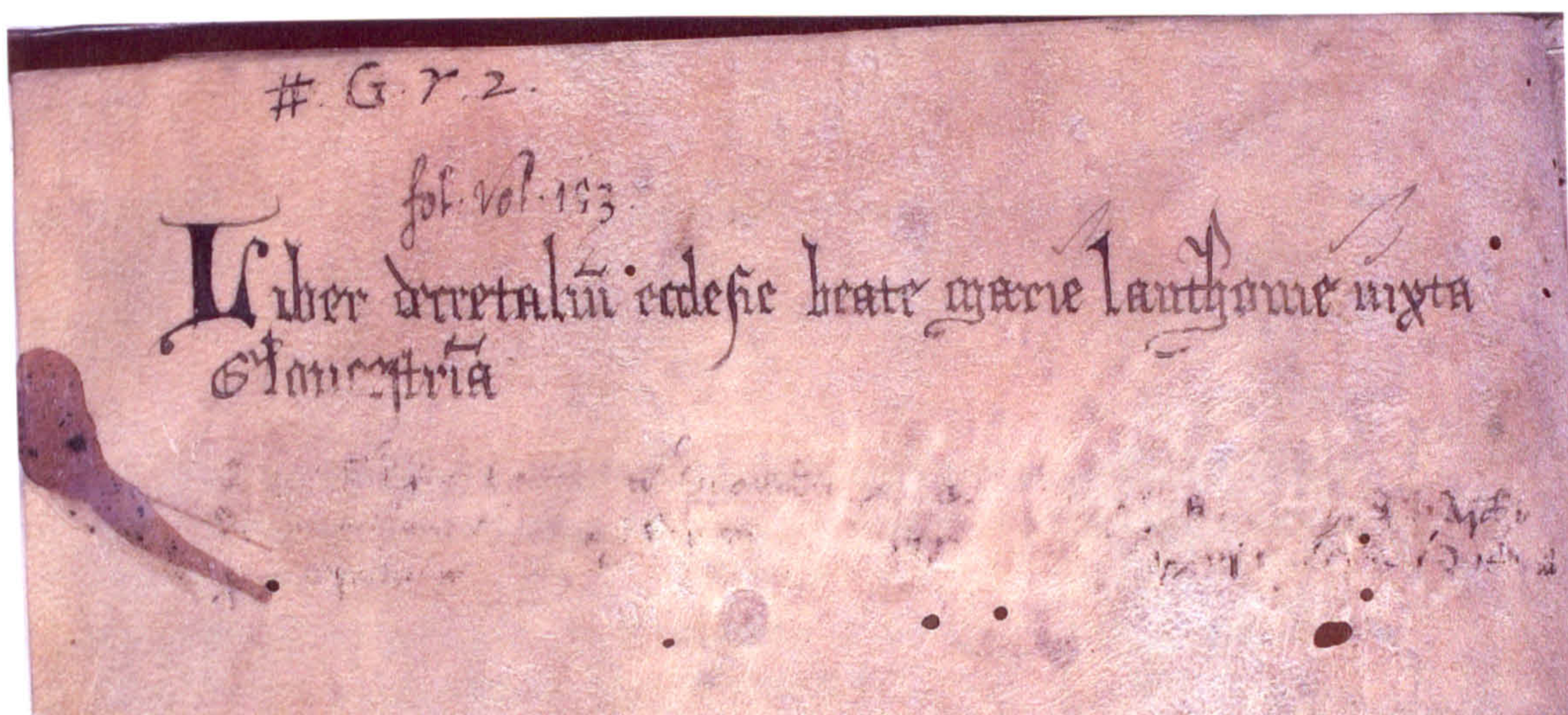


Plate XLII

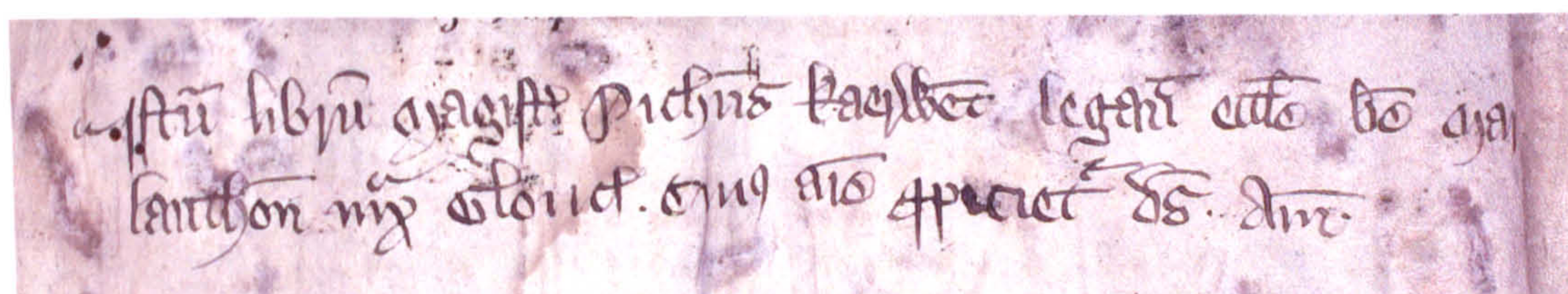
CCCC 390 (c.1200) (f. i) (top) and LP 231 (s. xii^{2/4-med}) (fos. i^v-ii^r)
(bottom)

Two inscriptions of Canon Morgan of Carmarthen who, in the 1400s, wrote his name in and listed the contents of thirty-six extant Llanthony manuscripts.



LP 103 (f. i^v) (s. xiii^{ex})

A late-fifteenth-century *ex libris* of Llanthony Secunda in an older book of canon law.



LP 128 (s. xiv) (f. i^v)

Inscription recording the bequest of LP 128 to Llanthony Secunda by Master Nicholas Kaerwent (d. 1467), the nature of whose connection with the priory is unknown.

Plate XLIII

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